**Wilbur Mills' Ways and Means** *The Editors*

# THE NEW REPUBLIC

ITTER LIBRARY
LDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

A Journal of Politics and the Arts—December 14, 1974, 50 cents

DEC 10 1974

## Anti-Semitism On the Rise?

*Stanley Karnow*

NEWSPAPE
44017
NR BAD4 W189 1 1075
BLADWIN WALLACE COLLEGE
RITTER LIB PERIODICALS
BEREA OHIO

**Multinationals**—*Robert W. Dietsch*

**Poverty & Health**—*Peter Isacson*

**Arming Up**—*John Osborne*

**gnes Smedley's "Daughter of Earth"**

*A Reconsideration by Marge Piercy*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# A Coherent New Reporting Experience! The Washington Spectator...

Every Two Weeks by Tristram Coffin—A Privately Circulated Newsletter

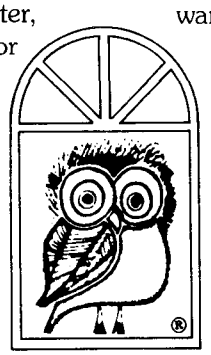
We urge you to try the new *Washington Spectator* at the special trial rate of $6 for six months or, one year, at the charter rate of $10. Why? Because its editor, Tristram Coffin, attracts high praise from his readers; for example, Erich Fromm, Clark M. Clifford, Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., Bill Moyers, banker Marriner S. Eccles and Gen. D. M. Shoup, USMC . . . they admire the toughness, independence and gift for prophesy in Coffin's prose.

Bill Moyers told Coffin, "You are a lonely but vital light from that bleak city." Literary critic Maxwell Geiswar says of Coffin, "You're keeping the Mark Twain tradition alive." About the *Spectator's* environmental coverage, Arthur Godfrey writes, "You are doing a great job!" I. F. Stone recommends Coffin's writing to the Niemann fellows at Harvard. Experience, perspective and continuity are vital *Washington Spectator* assets reflecting Coffin's 30 years in Washington as reporter, columnist, commentator, editor, and author of seven books. The best known are "Missouri Compromise," sections of which appeared originally in *The New Republic*; "The Armed Society," and "Not to the Swift."

Another raison d'etre for *Washington Spectator* is that all of us are overwhelmed with masses of information—facts, opinions, propaganda, statistics—until we often feel the Babel is out of control. *Washington Spectator* will pick out the significant truths, from the great journals and newspapers, and put the puzzle together for you, so that events are coherent, having meaning and save you time, effort and money.

A Thought From Tristram Coffin . . . reflecting the mood of *Washington Spectator:*

"The one impelling drive of my life has been a hunger for information—information about man and his political institutions. I remember as a child staring in awe at the big presses of the Indianapolis Star and the bustle of the city room and thinking, this is very close to the center of life, this is where the mysteries are unveiled. This romantic notion still drives me—the hope that there are truths which, if discovered, will allow men to live in peace, without want, and as brothers. I want to find them, and write them down."



**TIME YOU LOOKED INTO THE *WASHINGTON SPECTATOR* TOO!**

**Special new subscriber's *Bonus:* "Populism—the New American Politics" by Tristram Coffin . . . Yours with this this special low-cost introductory opportunity!**

The Washington Spectator
P.O. Box 1750
Annapolis, MD 21404

*Yes, send me *Washington Spectator* and my Bonus copy, "Populism—the New American Politics."

☐ Six months $6 ☐ Special Charter, one year $10 (saves $2)
☐ Cash enclosed ☐ Bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

**Bonus Book:* "Populism—the New American Politics" with *either* term!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# We believe the small investor should get about the same break as the large investor.

## That's why we organized:

# DREYFUS LIQUID ASSETS, INC.

which pools money from thousands of small investors to buy and hold high yield money market obligations such as:

- **Bank C.D.'s (available only in $100,000 or larger amounts)**
- **Bankers Acceptances (usually available only in $50,000 or larger amounts)**
- **Treasury Bills (available in $10,000 or larger amounts)**
- **Commercial Paper (usually available in $25,000 or larger amounts)**

No charge when you buy shares... no charge when you withdraw your money... dividends declared daily... $5,000 minimum investment ($1,000 minimum if forwarded by a securities dealer).

For a copy of the prospectus and a free information booklet, mail the coupon or call us toll-free at these numbers any time during the week from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M.

OUTSIDE NEW YORK STATE—CALL TOLL FREE **(800) 223-5525**

NEW YORK STATE—CALL **(212) 935-5700**

CALL COLLECT OUTSIDE NEW YORK CITY AREA

*Available in certain countries outside the United States. Write for details.*

Dreyfus Liquid Assets, Inc. 0760102
600 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Please send my prospectus and free information booklet.

PLEASE PRINT ALL INFORMATION:

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# TRB

*from Washington*
*December 14, 1974*

## As Seen from Space

We were talking to the Outer Space Man the other day, a quite interesting chap despite his three heads. Sometimes when terrestrial problems get a bit too much for us we like to chat with Mr. OSM. He takes a cool, clinical interest in earth people, with a touch of humor and sympathy. There are several thousand small planets in his jurisdiction, he tells us, at about the earth's state of evolution. He has charming manners and a nice suburban home on the other side of the Galactic Dark Spot. We communicate by empathy but for readers it goes better in English.

What worried us for the moment, we told him, was old Mrs. Zabriskie. She is a quite humble earth-dweller with humdrum details: income $105 a month in a walk-up, cold-water flat in St. Louis, and lives alone. Her total assets are under $1500 and she gets a fortnightly Social Security check, from which she takes $18 a month to buy food stamps at a concessional rate; for $18 she gets $46 in stamps.

But President Ford has just announced that he is going to trim food stamp benefits by $750 million to one billion dollars on March 1, to aid the budget. Inflation, you see, that's our number one enemy. This means that old Mrs. Zabriskie will have to ante up $31 a month instead of $18 to get $46 in food stamps. The Ford proposal will affect 95 percent of 15 million under the plan.

Then there is poor Mr. Jones, disabled from a fall and living on $146 a month (rent $112). Up til now he used $15 fortnightly to purchase his $23 in food stamps. But he will be hit by the Ford budget economy even harder than old Mrs. Zabriskie: after March 1 he must pay $21.50 for his fortnightly $23 in stamps. It won't be worth taking the long bus trip to the food stamp office.

We told this to our interplanetary visitor. "Surely," empathized Mr. OSM, "your what-do-you-call-it, your Congress, will object? You have explained to me. . . ."

"Congress doesn't need to approve!" we interrupted. "The president can change food stamp rates without legislation. He needs authorization for two other proposed economies: he wants to save a billion by cutting Medicare benefits for the elderly, and $400 million from social security. But on food stamps he can act alone."

"I understand," Mr. OSM said politely, "that on your planet the poor are expected to carry most of the load. But this variant is interesting. Will there be opposition?"

"Perhaps so, if the public understands," we replied doubtfully. "Mr. Ford told his press conference last week however, that he had merely required 'certain individuals, who wanted food stamps, to pay slightly more to qualify.' For old Mrs. Zabriskie and poor Mr. Jones 'slightly more' means going a couple of days a month without food!"

I could see Mr. OSM patiently trying to understand. "But aren't you all sacrificing?" he asked. "I believe all your foods have gone up."

"All up, and most for the poor," we explained. "A pound of butter up 9 percent—terrible; but margarine is up 63 percent. Porterhouse steak has jumped 38 percent and the well-to-do are boycotting it. But old Mrs. Zabriskie hasn't seen steak for five years. She uses dried beans—they're up 255 percent."

"I am interested in your problems," said Mr. OSM. "You have what you call your Congress?"

"I think the Senate will vote against food stamp increases. The rub is the House sir, particularly the Agriculture Committee (it's called), packed with conservatives. However there are 12 open seats on the committee now, Mr. OSM, if you understand. If we put some new men in there we may save old Mrs. Zabriskie."

We gave Mr. OSM a wink, but his attention was wandering. "On the economy," he inquired, "anything new?"

"Yes, real progress! The economic indicators keep dropping but the President's grasp is improving all the time. He now agrees there's a recession. That's a breakthrough. We have three problems, he says, Inflation, Recession and Energy (Inflation still No. 1). But Mr. Ford told us last week that our worst peril was not these, but anxiety. "Our greatest danger today,' he said, 'is to fall victim to the exaggerated alarms that are being generated.' We must put on our WIN buttons, and smile."

Our UFO visitor's attention seemed to be wandering. We screwed up courage. "You get around," we said. "You see a lot of small planets. Probably we all evolve much alike. Could you, would you, make any comparison for me? The earth, I mean. It's my globe and I love it."

It's not easy to fix the eye of a three-headed man; we focused on the middle one. We must have shown concern.

"Well," he said, "don't quote me but you are a very interesting case. Quite a textbook specimen. We are all interested. You have four billion people on earth, no? Half of them hungry. Population growth, I note, has just broken through food growth, permanently, I believe. Population will double in 35 years, only of course, it can't. Your own country (American, I think?) has six percent of the population, and uses 40 percent of annual available supplies."

"So what?" we pleaded.

"Oh, nothing. Just the usual. I mean, planets go through this process. In your case there's the simultaneous weapon growth; quite a classic example: annual world military expenditures currently around $240 billion (larger than the total income of the poorer half of mankind). In 20 years you will be spending four *trillion* dollars for self-defense, according to one of your research groups, the Institute for World Order, Inc. (C. Douglas Dillon, chairman of the board). So-o-o. Look around. Israel has enough plutonium for several A-bombs; the Arabs will have; India puts a nuclear explosion before feeding her starving; proliferation proceeds. . . ."

"So," we stammered, "what generally happens?"

He looked at me meaningfully. "Sometimes they do (sometimes not) come through, I mean. Oddly enough a lot may depend on how you handle your Mrs. Zabriskie." He saw my wondering look. "Yes, there seems to be a definite correlation, though we don't fully understand it yet: the Mrs. Zabriskie quotient in planetary survival . . . Well maybe I've said too much. I must be going. I hope, ah, I hope your earth is still around when I come through next time."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**THE NEW REPUBLIC** *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 171, No. 24, Issue 3127, December 14, 1974. Published weekly (except the issues of January 12, July 13, July 27, August 17) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036. Phone 331-7494. Single copy, 50¢; Yearly subscriptions, $17; foreign, $20; students, $10. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright 1974 by The New Republic, Inc.* *Item g. Second class postage paid at Washington, DC and additional mailing offices. Indexed in Reader's Guide.*

Contents

Comment
Wilbur Mills' Ways and Means, Checking-Up, UNESCO and Israel
The One World of Multinationals—*Robert W. Dietsch*
White House Watch: Arming Up—*John Osborne*
"No Radiation Without Representation"—*James Goodman*
Anti-Semitism on the Rise—*Stanley Karnow*
Poverty and Health—*Peter Isacson*
Films—*Stanley Kauffmann*
Books—Reviews by *Marge Piercy, Eliot Marshall, Jerome Klinkowitz, Nathalia Wright, Norman J. Gallo, Charles R. Larson, Jason Berry*
Fine Print—*Doris Grumbach*
Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief—Gilbert A. Harrison
Chairman, Editorial Board—Martin Peretz
Publisher—Robert J. Myers

Managing Editor—David Sanford
Executive Editor—Walter Pincus
Literary Editor—Doris Grumbach
Associate Editors—John Osborne, Stanley Karnow, Eliot Marshall
Assistant to the Editors—Gwen Somers
Assistant to the Literary Editor—Cherryl Holt
Contributing Editors:
Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Gerald W. Johnson, Nathan Lewin, Peter J. Ognibene, John Seelye, Melville J. Ulmer, Paul R. Wieck
Films and Theater—Stanley Kauffmann
West Coast Editor—Peter Barnes

Production Manager—Mary Henninger
Assistant Production Manager—Ellen Cochran Hicks
Circulation Manager—Elizabeth A. Scanlan
Business Manager—Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Assistant Business Manager—Constance Cole Twining
New Republic Feature Syndicate—Leslie B. Seagrave
Advertising and Promotion—Ilene Briggin Kahane
Receptionist—Ruby McGowan
Advertising Representative—E. Laurence White
50 E. 42nd St., NYC 10017
(212) 986-6210

# Wilbur Mills' Ways and Means

"The winds of change have come to the House," Rep. Phillip Burton (D, Calif.) said last week, and indeed a hurricane seems to have struck the most powerful of the money committees on Capitol Hill, Ways and Means, and its chairman, Wilbur Mills, heretofore respected as one of the shrewdest and toughest operators in Washington. The committee drew its strength from the wile of Mills and the institutional structure he inherited and learned to dominate like a Godfather. Suddenly that authority collapsed, and when the dust settled it was seen that the old club of Dixiecrats that has ruled the roost in Congress for so long was a degree less influential and that a new club of genteel reformers elected in the '50s and '60s had moved several degrees closer to the levers of power.

Rep. Mills stumbled several times this year but seemed to recover his balance until the poor man appeared on stage in Boston with a striptease dancer the day before Democrats in the House were to vote on procedures for the 94th session. The dancer was the same one police had seen come out of Mills' car when it was stopped for speeding last October, and jump into the Potomac River Tidal Basin. When Mills then visited his lady friend in Boston last week and told the press that "this won't ruin me . . . nothing will ruin me," he was finished. The comic-tragic escapade, striptease and all, was played out on the network news, and House Democrats could not ignore it. They were shocked not by the damage Mills was doing to himself, but the damage he was doing to their image. So they voted to strip Ways and Means of its power to assign committee membership; they elected a progressive caucus leader (Rep. Burton); they enlarged membership on Ways and Means by 12 seats, opening the gates to a flood of younger, more active Democrats. There was talk of replacing Mills with the next in line for chairman, Rep. Al Ullman (D, Ore.), or removing him from the committee. Mills removed himself by entering the hospital, at the urging of friends. He may resign.

Mills' peccadillos weren't the cause of the rebellion we are witnessing, however. They were the insult added to injury that made it impossible for his supporters to come to his rescue. Organized resistance to Mills and the rest of the tired House leadership began much earlier. One of the first signs that younger Democrats felt they'd been badly treated was the formation in 1959 of a club of progressives called the Democratic Study Group. Gradually it broadened its efforts

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and in 1973 the DSG became the most effective single bloc within the Democratic caucus. Under pressure from the DSG, Democrats made some key procedural changes last year, including new rules that most committee meetings would have to be opened to the public and that committee chairmen would have to accept amendments on the floor of the House if the caucus insisted on them. The latter was aimed directly at Wilbur Mills. Until this year the chairman of Ways and Means had nearly absolute control over complex fiscal bills that came through his committee. Mills treated tax legislation as his personal responsibility, and even his critics admitted that he knew more about the legislation than anyone else. He was high-handed, decisive, informed. Ways and Means had no subcommittees and its proposals were invariably taken to the floor under a "closed rule," meaning that Mills wrote tax law in the House almost singlehandedly, accepting no amendments once he had made up his mind. The approach had its drawbacks. It invited frustration and resentment, not just among outsiders, but also within Ways and Means itself. It also built up a backlog of legislation, since there's a limit to what one man and one committee can do in a session of Congress.

Last summer the inevitable happened. Two members of Ways and Means challenged the chairman in public. Reps. William Green (D, Pa.) and Charles Vanik (D, Ohio), upset by the way the tax reform bill had been designed to avoid disturbing oil company revenues, asked the committee to consider a different plan. They wanted an immediate end of the oil depletion allowance (not a slow phaseout) and an overhaul of foreign tax credits. Their amendments were quickly rejected by Mills and the coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats that backed him up. Afterward the challengers gathered signatures and, invoking the new rule, Rep. Green asked for a decision by the party. The Green-Vanik forces won their battle but lost the war. The caucus voted overwhelmingly to force Mills to let the Green-Vanik amendments be considered when the tax bill reached the floor of the House. Mills thereupon seized on a technicality and threatened to take a position that could have sabotaged the entire bill. The challenge faded.

Meanwhile Ways and Means narrowly escaped being carved up and redesigned along lines suggested by a special committee on House reform. These Bolling committee recommendations, as they were called after their author Rep. Richard Bolling, never had much chance of being accepted. Powerful chairmen like Mills were able to have them set aside for "study" by the caucus. The report did draw attention once again, however, to the old bosses' determination to hold onto power at any cost, and it again publicized a miserable legislative record. Not one of the big domestic bills promised by Ways and Means in the last two years has passed. Tax reform, national health insurance, social security and welfare reform have all been left in limbo. The foreign trade bill did get through the House but was later held up in the Senate. Pension reform was enacted, but that law was drafted primarily in the Senate.

When the new congressmen arrived in the capital last week to vote in the caucus, they weren't interested in learning how to "get along by going along." They demanded changes. Seventy-five of the freshmen organized as the "class of 94," elected Richard Ottinger chairman and vowed to make themselves heard in this and future party debates. Their votes combined with those of the DSG to bring about the restructuring of Ways and Means and a change in the attitude of the party leadership. A new, unfamiliar boldness has seized even the mild-mannered Speaker, Carl Albert, who now says he favors the progressives and indicates that he hopes to ride the crest of the wave as far as he can. Optimists predict that a tax reform bill will be written and quickly passed by the House as the first order of business next January.

How far will the new tide reach? We won't know until next month, when the steering committee begins to exercise its new authority and select committee members. Although there's talk of unseating some of the older chairmen—W. R. Poage of Agriculture and Wright Patman of Banking, to name two—a great deal still depends on what the party leaders want. Speaker Albert and Majority Leader Tip O'Neill can be counted on to do nothing dramatic. But the new caucus leader, Phillip Burton, is less predictable. At the outset he said flatly that he would *not* vote to unseat Wilbur Mills, an unusual commitment to make so early in the game. When Mr. Albert brought Burton into his office the other night to meet the press, the Speaker chattered blandly about his "new partner." Burton corrected him: "Junior partner," he said quite solemnly.

The upheavals of recent days signal a significant shift in the balance of power in the House. One of the kingpins of the old hierarchy has been subdued and his committee will be opened to take in a wide sampling of younger members. The fresh air is welcome. New faces will be seen on the other committees as well, if not on the pinnacles of power. One congressional aide engaged in the battle speaks as if the old leadership had been trounced: "We are dealing with a comatose body politic," he says, "and the only question now is whether or not to unplug the life support systems." That is an overstatement, but it reflects the new feeling of confidence among progressives.

**COMING:** an inquiry into the meaning of bribery by Brooks Jackson

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Checking Up

In our last issue we discussed some of the obstacles hindering congressional supervision of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. But the problem goes far beyond devising a system by which legislators can effectively oversee covert activities of intelligence gathering government agencies. The truth is that little serious thought has been given on Capitol Hill to how *any* federal agency or program ought to be monitored.

Within the executive branch there are 11 departments headed by cabinet members and 55 independent agencies. Who knows or cares what they are all doing? Surely there ought to be some way by which committees and subcommittees of the House and Senate can at least spot-check key operations—perhaps on a rotating basis—of these numerous bureaucracies. Then also hundreds of laws are passed every year, each with a stated legislative purpose. Again there is no organized congressional oversight to determine if the enacted laws as implemented fulfill the purpose for which they were originally designed. All that happens is that individual legislators or subcommittee chairmen may or may not keep track of how their own pet legislation is faring.

What little oversight Congress does undertake rarely makes news, and since Congress tends to think that nothing happens until it appears in the press this lack of attention dampens the zeal to monitor the detailed operations of government. There are of course exceptions to this benign neglect. The Food and Drug Administration is closely watched by a House Government Operations subcommittee chaired by Rep. L. H. Fountain of North Carolina and by a Senate health subcommittee run by Sen. Edward Kennedy. Perhaps one reason for this, as congressional aides are quick to point out, is that FDA hearings are almost always covered by *The Washington Post*'s Morton Mintz, a reporter deeply concerned about drug and medical problems and committed to writing about them.

In contrast neither Rep. Wilbur Mills, during his 15 years as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee nor Sen. Russell Long, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, has had any interest in the supervisory function of Congress. There has been no oversight at all of taxes, either of the general way the tax code works or of the impact a particular tax measure has had. Rep. Charles Vanik, a member of Ways and Means, has repeatedly and futilely attempted to get the committee to review one tax gimmick—the domestic international sales corporation (DISC) provision voted into law in 1971. Its stated purpose was to stimulate export trade to aid the US balance of payments. But according to Vanik, it has had a negligible effect on our exports and will cost the Treasury $740 million in 1975.

Two enormous government programs—Medicare and Medicaid, and Social Security—both need careful reappraisal by Congress. They aren't getting it yet, though the enlargement of Ways and Means and the expected elevation to the chairmanship by Rep. Al Ullman may pave the way to the setting up of subcommittees that will begin asking the right questions. Whether such undertakings are successful will in the end depend on the skill of the congressional staffs and the determination of the members to press their inquiries, whether or not these inquiries have publicity value.

# UNESCO and Israel

Last month as the UN General Assembly was passing resolutions in New York conferring legitimacy on the Palestine Liberation Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in Paris, by excluding Israel from its European regional activities, was anticipating and, as Raymond Aron and Jean-Paul Sartre said in a remarkable joint statement, "justifying in advance Israel's physical annihilation." The Arab-inspired resolutions included terminating UNESCO's small aid to Israeli cultural institutions and asked that UNESCO's director general undertake to supervise educational and cultural institutions in Israeli occupied territories. But it was not the imagined threats of archeologists to the Omayyad palaces of Jerusalem that provoked the series of punitive moves. That an international agency dedicated to intellectual freedom and confined by its charter to cultural concerns should be a vehicle for such political reprisals is disheartening.

Scholars in the sciences and humanities, Nobel laureates among them, already have severed their ties with UNESCO. France's newly designated minister for women, Françoise Giroud, refused to appear at a UNESCO session. Unfortunately the Vatican has gone forward with its plans to bestow on UNESCO the Pope John XXIII Award—though Pope Paul VI sharply disassociated the Holy See from the organization's anti-Israel stand.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to cut a $16 million contribution to UNESCO from the foreign aid bill, the money to be restored only in the event that UNESCO rescinds its resolutions. Financial retaliation against an international organization is a crude way of expressing disapproval, reminiscent of earlier Soviet withholding of funds. But how else are the Communist, Moslem and Third World countries to have impressed upon them that by compromising the universality of the UN, which only recently admitted the People's Republic of China to its ranks in the name of universality, they will in the end undermine the world organization itself?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The One World Of Multinationals

The multinational corporations describe their world-sprawling entities as "the most constructive force in the world economy" (J. Stanford Smith, chairman of International Paper) and "an American mainstay" (Emergency Committee for American Trade). But an Opinion Research Poll found that seven of 10 Americans think the main reason US companies go abroad is to take advantage of cheap labor, and this same majority views the multinationals as a drain on the Treasury. Statistics do show that the multinationals aren't much of a mainstay when it comes to paying taxes. The effective tax rate last year for Chrysler was 8.6 percent, International Telephone (ITT) 4.2 percent, Exxon 6.7 percent, Gulf Oil 1.6 percent, Mobil Oil 3.2 percent, Standard Oil of California 6.9 percent and Texaco 1.5 percent. All are multinational corporations. Sen. William Proxmire (D, Wisc.) estimates that tax breaks for companies operating abroad grew from $335 million in 1970 to $1.5 billion today.

International corporations may be headquartered in New York, Chicago or Houston, but the primary allegiance of their foreign subsidiaries is to the host country. The heads of multinational corporations are in a sense world citizens but there is no world community to which they are accountable. In fulfilling their main, if not sole purpose—making money—the multinationals do business with anybody. At home they decry interference by government; abroad they become partners with government and often take pride in their friendly ties with their hosts. US companies have signed about 1000 venture pacts with Communist countries, making American businessmen "parastatal" entities in those nations. Multinational corporate loyalty will be tested in the future, as host governments change leaders and even philosophies, and as relationships between the US and foreign governments change. Testimony before a subcommittee of the Senate has shown that during the 1973 Mideast war, Aramco failed to inform Washington that the Saudis were trying to use the company as an instrument of anti-US policy. Other evidence suggests that the oil companies operating in OPEC countries showed little if any resistance when the host countries acted to boost prices; if those higher prices crimped the pocketbooks of American consumers and aggravated America's economic troubles they did nothing to damage corporate profits. Sen. Charles Percy, no enemy of the multinationals, says conflicts of allegiance will grow: "This problem is sure to come up again, with bauxite, iron, zinc, a whole series of industries, when foreign governments attempt through international coercion and threats to place American companies in a very difficult position."

The economic impact of multinationals still isn't fully appreciated. Writing in *The Federationist*, a monthly publication of the AFL-CIO, Elizabeth R. Jager reports on "a second generation of multinationals in combination or competition with the few hundred global giants previously recognized as multinational firms." These are generally smaller corporations who may not set up plants abroad but operate in other countries "by transferring their technology or know-how for a fee or royalty." "Thousands of smaller firms go abroad in increasing numbers in a variety of ways," she says, "exporting, producing, licensing, forming joint ventures. The trend is to make mistakes and learn, but seek to expand everywhere." Just how many jobs these companies export along with their licensing and royalty activities isn't known.

The Soviet Union and some of its East European satellites are beginning to operate businesses in the West—the Russians marketing gasoline in Britain and Belgium, joining in dual-nation ventures in Belgium, Nigeria, Scandinavia and France and creating bank operations in several European countries. The Poles and East Germans are building hotels in Western Europe, and the Romanians run a restaurant chain in West Germany and a Canadian tractor assembly plant that reportedly has shipped some units south into the United States. As the Communist states get more deeply involved in multinational business, questions arise about their pricing, marketing and sales approaches and aims. Every segment of Communist business life is monopolized. As *The Wall Street Journal* once put it, "at home and abroad the omnipresent state operates on an exclusive and gigantic scale as owner, investor, miner, buyer, producer, money lender, shipper and insurer." The US Tariff Commission report on multinational firms concludes that "the planning and subsequent monitoring of plan fulfillment have reached a scope and level of detail that, ironically, resemble more than superficially the national planning procedures of Communist countries. There are general goals set by top management, against which far flung affiliates generate detailed operational plans for a year, five years' or 10 years' activity. These localized plans then are fought out at the regional headquarters level, where goals, inputs, outputs and financial needs are reconciled."

"It is not accidental," former Undersecretary of State George Ball says, "that the peoples of the West have largely left the acquisition and transformation of raw materials to the masters of commerce, for they alone have possessed the incentive and flexibility to discover and develop these resources quickly and efficiently. Yet that has inevitably resulted in conflicts of interest and sovereignty between the great world companies and governments of nations in which the resources have been placed by the whim of nature. Questions as to the strength and competence of multinational companies to deal with these governments

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been put in sharp relief by the energy crisis. Sooner or later we will no doubt have to devise effective ground rules to regulate the relations between multinational companies and host governments—and that implies creation of some kind of supernational authority. The sooner we come to grips with the problem the better." But how?

To begin with, the credits that greased postwar overseas expansion by American companies and the tax incentives for creating foreign subsidiaries must be tightened, if not ended. The House Ways and Means Committee already has approved an increase in taxes paid by multinationals on foreign-source income by restricting the use of foreign subsidiaries to escape taxation and by ending an export tax incentive for agricultural and mineral products. These ideas certainly will be pushed in the next Congress by Ways and Means, which stands to hear more from more members who are not enthralled by fun-loving Chairman Wilbur Mills and other pro-business members. The administration would do well to revive the idea of an international trade organization, first proposed in 1945 at a meeting in Havana (of all places), and aimed at getting major countries to minimize multinational tax abuses common to most major countries. A way must be found to end the tax havens set up in places like Panama and Liberia, either through unilateral changes in the US tax code or through international cooperation. Again there seems little reason to continue the special tax credits and guarantees that the Export-Import Bank gives to US corporations selling abroad.

As things stand now, the federal government picks up much of the risk when an American firm creates a new overseas operation—including those growing joint ventures and licensing agreements in the Soviet Union. What is to prevent, for example, a joint US-Russian electronic venture in some future year from selling parts and products in the US at below-cost prices—"dumping" these items at the expense of US workers but at a dollar profit to the parent American corporation and economic and political profit to Moscow? This is not to say American firms should be barred from dealing with the Soviets, but merely to suggest that if the American businessman were made to take most of the risks, instead of the American taxpayer, more hardnosed deals might be made.

Another special assistance program that could be eliminated is the "DISC" program, DISC meaning Domestic International Sales Corp., which any US corporation can create to avoid half the taxes due on foreign subsidiary income. The idea behind the scheme was to encourage exports, but it is another tax break that cheats the Treasury.

**Robert W. Dietsch**

MR. DIETSCH *writes in Washington for the Scripps-Howard newspapers.*

## White House Watch

# Arming Up

Here is the gist of the Ford administration's case—its very best case—for the agreement to negotiate a new agreement on the limitation of strategic nuclear arms that President Ford and General Secretary Brezhnev reached at Vladivostok. It is a case that deserves to be presented without the intrusion of hostile expertise and that is the purpose of this report. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger tried to make the case at two press conferences in Vladivostok. Mr. Ford also tried, in expectably and understandably oversimplified fashion, at a press conference in Washington on December 2 and Secretary Kissinger probably will have tried again at another press conference before this is read. But mass and open press conferences and briefings, infested as they are nowadays with reporters who mistake them for public crucifixions, are seldom occasions for the quiet and considered presentation of complex arguments. The State Department provided such an occasion in Washington on December 3, with the requirement that attending reporters attribute what they heard to "State Department sources." I trust that I will be forgiven for noting that the performance enhanced my respect for Henry Kissinger and my gratitude to President Ford for keeping Kissinger in the dual role that Richard Nixon created for him. Henry Kissinger continues to be both assistant to the President for national security affairs and Secretary of State and all of us are lucky that he does.

The President at his press conference, having received written affirmation of the figures from Moscow, said that he and Brezhnev had agreed in principle at Vladivostok to limit the overall total of nuclear warhead carriers that each country may maintain to 2400 and the total of missiles that each country may top with multiple warheads to 1320. Mr. Ford acknowledged that all that he and Brezhnev had agreed upon at Vladivostok was "the general framework for a new agreement that will last through 1985." The hope is that the "new agreement" can be negotiated and made ready for signature before Brezhnev visits the US next May or June for the fifth US-Soviet summit conference since 1972. Both the President and the "State Department sources" tended to minimize the difficulties that remain to be negotiated out and, when they got into the swing of their argument, to speak as if a binding new agreement had been concluded and already existed. The fact that it has not been concluded and may never exist should be kept in mind as the following summary of the case for what was projected at Vladivostok and remains to be negotiated is read.

Although the aforementioned ceilings of 2400 and 1320 are the gut of the tentative agreement, several other aspects of it were disclosed only after the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President returned to Washington from Vladivostok and Kissinger returned from a side trip to Peking. Some of these newly disclosed factors strengthen the case for the projected agreement. It has been agreed, in principle, for instance, that the number of each country's landbased missile silos "will remain constant"—neither the US nor the Soviet Union can build any more silos if and after a final agreement is completed. Existing silos may be enlarged no more than 15 percent. This part of the intended agreement constitutes an advantage for the US, for interesting reasons, and bears importantly upon the merits and demerits of the potentially agreed ceiling of 1320 on the total of multiple war-headed (MIRVed) missiles to be allowed each country. The US silos for its landbased Minuteman missiles were designed to take considerably larger missiles than the ones now in them. The bigger and more powerful the missile, the more separately targeted warheads can be mounted on it. The US has not decided to build bigger missiles and may never do so, but it can do so without enlarging its silos if it so chooses. The Soviet Union's silos exactly fit the missiles now in them. The present silos have to be enlarged in order to accommodate the Soviet Union's series of three new monsters—SS 17s, 18s and 19s—that it has MIRVed or is MIRVing experimentally and intends to deploy. Enlarging land silos is a visible activity, readily detectable by US surveillance satellites, and the US intends to rely chiefly upon this fact to make sure that the Soviet Union stays within the limit of 1320 MIRVed missiles.

Submarine-launched missiles are harder to track. Mobile, land-launched missiles will introduce another source of uncertainty when and if the Soviet Union resorts to them, as it will be free to do so under the intended agreement. The governing US calculation is that neither factor will be critical. Soviet officialdom was told by Kissinger at a preliminary meeting in Moscow in late October and Brezhnev was reminded at Vladivostok that the US intends to assume that *all* Soviet missiles of any type that have been tested with multiple warheads will be MIRVed. Three new Soviet missiles of two types have been tested with multiple warheads so far and it's impossible to test them without detection. This assumption and this intention to count *all* such missiles against the agreed MIRV total are the core of the US checking system. Brezhnev has not accepted this as the basis for assuring compliance and some Soviet military and civilian factions are known to oppose accepting it. If it is not accepted by Soviet negotiators in the coming phase, the whole projected agreement falls apart and there would be very little chance of finding a new basis for agreement. But this doesn't worry Messrs. Ford and Kissinger very much. They assume that Brezhnev, knowing as he does what the US intention is, would not have gone as far as he has toward a binding agreement if he planned to reject a compliance system that should, for him, have the attraction of eliminating a need for on-site inspection.

The major argument against the projected agreement that Senator Henry Jackson and other critics are already making derives from the unquestioned fact that the Soviet Union presently has *no* MIRVed missiles deployed. This agreement, if concluded, would sanction a Soviet build-up from zero to 1320 MIRVed missiles with several thousand warheads on them. What's the good and sense of that? The good and sense of it, according to the US argument, is that this aspect of the proposed agreement does not really give away to the Soviet Union what it appears to give away. For the past 18 months or so, the CIA and other US intelligence agencies have been providing the National Security Council with low, median and high estimates of Soviet missile capacity and intentions. The lowest estimate of the number of missiles that the Soviet Union intended to MIRV was well above the tentatively agreed 1320. The median and, judging from the past record, probably more accurate estimate exceeded the 1320 by many hundred missiles and several thousand warheads. If this be true, as Senator Jackson will soon be told at subcommittee hearings he intends to hold on the matter, the projected agreement does in fact "put a cap on the strategic arms race" and bind the Soviet Union to a lower level of nuclear armament than it could and would attain without the agreement.

A related argument against the Vladivostok prospect is that the US should be negotiating a reduction from present levels of strategic armament and expenditure rather than limited increases to higher levels. The counter-argument comes down to the bald assertion that the Soviet Union simply and certainly is not prepared to negotiate reduction from present levels. It would be bound by the projected agreement, along with the US, to begin negotiation of some reduction from the agreed levels no later than 1980-81. That is held to be a gain of sorts, however tenuous.

One of the disclosures made in the course of justifying the proposed agreement fascinates me for a special reason. It is that until recently the Soviet Union asked that Communist China's nuclear potential be taken into account, along with our Europe-based bombers and French and British nuclear forces, in calculating any agreed overall total of nuclear carriers. All of these demands have been dropped. At Kiev in 1972, after the first Nixon-Brezhnev summit, I enraged Henry Kissinger with a query about a report I'd heard. It concerned Soviet-Chinese military tensions and was so explosive that I cannot further describe it. Kissinger, trembling with rage, said that whoever had told me the story was a lying son-of-a-bitch and that I was a son-of-a-bitch for even mentioning such a report to him. Some day, maybe, I'll learn whether the story was true and, if it was, tell it.

**John Osborne**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# "No Radiation Without Representation"

*Denver, Colorado*

In energy-rich Colorado, the politics of ecology has found expression in a demand for greater local control of the state's energy development. The most significant energy issue on the November 5 ballot, Amendment 10 had surprisingly strong bipartisan backing, and was approved by a 60 percent majority. Amendment 10 is "an act to amend the Constitution of the State of Colorado to establish procedural steps to be complied with prior to the detonation of nuclear explosive devices, requiring prior approval of the detonation by the voters through the enactment of an initiated or referred measure." If it had addressed an energy issue other than radioactivity, it would doubtless have found a less receptive public. But the controversy surrounding the use of nuclear energy,particularly as a means of freeing the estimated 600 trillion cubic feet (half of which is believed retrievable) of natural gas trapped in rock formations beneath the Rocky Mountain region, has put the risk of extensive radiation pollution in Colorado's backyard.

With federal funding for nonnuclear stimulation of natural gas at a trickle until recently, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), in a series of joint government-industry ventures, expended $34 million for underground nuclear fracturing of gas-bearing rock. After the initial 29-kiloton blast (Project Gasbuggy) near Farmington, New Mexico in 1967, the AEC shifted to the western slopes of Colorado, where a 40-kiloton detonation (Project Rulison) in September 1969 was followed by three 30-kiloton explosions (Project Rio Blanco) in May of last year. Thus far none of these experimental wells has produced gas for public consumption, and the problem of radioactive contamination has been more serious than anticipated. Rio Blanco continues to be plagued by difficulties: despite AEC assurances to the contrary, tritium (a radioactive isotope of hydrogen) leaked into a natural gas cavity, and more recently cesium-137 (cancer-causing and genetic-damaging) and strontium-90 (linked to leukemia) contaminated natural gas being tested. The delay in publicly disclosing the cesium-137 (detected the Saturday before the November elections) until November 6 has led to charges of cover-up. Also the failure of the three underground detonations at Rio Blanco to form a single cavity (as expected) casts further doubt on the feasibility of nuclear gas stimulation.

A Federal Power Commission study calculates that 29,680 underground detonations of 100 kilotons each would be necessary if the atom is to be used to tap domestic natural gas reserves. Although no nuclear detonations are scheduled for this fiscal year, Dixy Lee Ray of the Atomic Energy Commission, in a letter to Rep. Teno Roncalio (D) of Wyoming, announced last spring that she is seeking $56.2 million for a "demonstration field experiment" involving up to 30 atomic bombs at a Western site within the next five years. Roncalio, a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, has been the foremost critic of nuclear gas stimulation. In a paper presented at the Denver Tri-State Energy Conference last February, he argued that even if AEC proposals for 190 wells (using more than 750 nuclear bombs) were carried out by 1980, this would produce only 1.8 percent of our natural gas needs and fulfill a mere 0.8 percent of 1980's projected total energy demand—hardly enough to justify the risk of radioactive pollution from nuclear detonations equal to 3750 Hiroshimas.

Besides adverse public reaction to the Western slope blasts and fear of similar detonations to extract oil shale deposits, Coloradoans' sensitivity to radioactivity has been heightened by the Rocky Flats nuclear munitions plant, located 16 air miles northwest of Denver. Rocky Flats—where a $45 million plutonium fire (the most expensive industrial fire in the nation's history) in May 1969 spewed plutonium oxide into the air and threatened a nuclear holocaust—poses a constant health hazard. Plutonium, perhaps the most lethal radioactive element, has periodically leaked from its storage barrels, and this November, 171 present and former employees at the AEC-owned plant were found with measurable amounts of plutonium in their lungs—an increase from the 105 figure two years earlier. Also, in September 1973, it was announced (nearly five months after initial detection) that tritium had "hitchhiked" on a shipment of plutonium to the Rocky Flats plant and then worked its way into nearby drinking waters. Although the concentration of tritium found in the waters was deemed "undesirable but not dangerous," a comparative study of the residents of Broomfield (who drank the tritiated water) and state health department employees showed Broomfield residents with seven times more tritium in their urine samples.

People for Rational Energy Sources (PRES) sponsored Amendment 10. PRES had a $5000 budget (mostly from small contributions) and a core group of 10 to 15 volunteers. It was they who organized the March to July petition drive to put the proposed referendum on the November ballot. By the July 3 deadline the signatures of 70,312 registered voters—well above the necessary 52,000—had been collected with the help of almost 2000 part-time volunteers.

Whereas Amendment 10 met little overt hostility, a "confidential" memorandum signed by the president of the Colorado Association of Commerce and Industry (an organization representing about 1100 state businesses and industries) underscored the implications of the amendment: "It seems obvious that if this proposal is successful at the polls in November, then initiated proposals will quickly come forward in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other energy development areas—specifically, for example, strip mining of coal, coal gasification, certain types of oil shale development and any other type of resource development with environmental impact." The memo, in an apparently unsuccessful attempt to raise "$25,000 to $30,000" (with the assurance of "no official identification" of contributors) "to launch a modest media campaign" against Amendment 10, claimed "that ballot box legislation on technical, complex matters such as this actually constitutes a threat to representative government" and represents "a misuse or an abuse of the initiative process."

Amendment 10 may one day be tested in the courts, since the federal government has hitherto successfully argued that the AEC preempts state jurisdiction on questions of nuclear energy. Although the amendment neither prohibits (it merely requires prior voter approval) future nuclear detonations nor affects nuclear power plants, it does express electoral concern that the AEC might radioactively ravage the state. Also its stipulation for full indemnity—without use of state funds—of all damages resulting from further nuclear blasting provides an additional deterrent to haphazard energy development. PRES hopes that Amendment 10 will inspire continued citizen involvement in energy planning and serve as a model for other states.

**James A. Goodman**

MR. GOODMAN *is a free-lance writer whose articles have appeared in* The Nation, The Progressive *and* Commonweal.

# Anti-Semitism On the Rise?

## by Stanley Karnow

Although American Jews can hardly be considered a monolithic community, they are united in their dedication to the survival of Israel. Thus they are currently concerned by the possibility that they may be held responsible for the impact on the US economy of another Arab oil embargo arising out of renewed fighting in the Middle East. Such an eventuality, they fear, could revive the kind of anti-Semitism that was familiar in parts of America until a generation ago. The fear is real, but how does it square with reality?

Every study shows that suspicion of Jews, while appreciable during the Depression and through World War II, was never as profound in the US as it still is in Europe, and that it has declined massively within recent decades. To a significant degree, these studies further indicate, the emergence of Israel as a state has contributed to this evolution. Yet many American Jews cannot shake off atavistic feelings of insecurity, though most would admit that the US is probably among the least anti-Semitic societies in modern history. Stephen Isaacs, whose book *Jews and American Politics* appeared not long ago, reports that the majority of prominent Jews he interviewed expressed a sense of inevitable doom, despite the success they had achieved personally. Rabbi Arthur Herzberg, the president of the American Jewish Congress, told me the other day that he is confident enough to crack a Yiddish joke at a White House dinner, but, he added, "I still keep my finger up to see which way the wind is blowing." Mark Talisman, administrative assistant to Rep. Charles Vanik of Ohio and one of the most effective operatives on Capitol Hill, hedges his basic optimism with the doubt that "we don't know what will happen in a crunch." And Bertram Gold, executive vice president of the American Jewish Committee, offsets his essentially buoyant outlook with the caution that "any thinking Jew is always apprehensive."

The apprehensiveness has lately been heightened by assorted symptoms of anti-Semitism in high places. Addressing a news conference last April, for example, Attorney General William Saxbe put forth the crude thesis that intellectuals were distrusted during the period of the Joe McCarthy witch-hunts because "the Jewish intellectual . . . was in those days very enamored of the Communist Party," and the transcripts of President Nixon's private White House conversations feature similar prejudiced outbursts, among them a warning to H. R. Haldeman to avoid "left-wing" Jews who like the arts. Then came the remarkable performance of Gen. George S. Brown, chairman of the joint

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chiefs of staff, who told a Duke University Law School forum in October that in the event of a new war Americans would not only be "inconvenienced and uncomfortable, but suffer" unless they "get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country." As if that wasn't enough, Brown went on to suggest that the loyalty of American Jews is ambivalent, since, as he put it, their purported ownership of US banks and newspapers reinforces Israel's sway over Congress. Reprimanded by President Ford, who tritely termed the general's remarks "ill-advised and poorly-handled," Brown later issued a confused apology. He was reportedly appalled both by the public outcry against his statement and by the lunatic hate mail that surfaced in his favor. While some Jewish leaders demanded resignation, others preferred that he remain in service, on the theory that he will now have to bend over backward to show his sympathy for Israel.

My sources in the Pentagon claim that Brown's outburst was less a display of anti-Semitism than a reflection of a measure of uneasiness in some quarters of the Defense Department with US policy toward the Middle East. According to these sources the Pentagon is almost totally preoccupied at the moment with the future of the region, and this has produced divergent attitudes. Many senior officers strongly support Israel as a bulwark against Moscow's penetration of the area. In addition they value the ability of the Israelis not only to test new American arms in action, but to provide the US with captured Soviet weapons of incalculable value to ordnance experts. Brown, who organized the airlift of US supplies to Israel during the Yom Kippur war last year, undoubtedly shares this professional respect. But, like many of his colleagues, he may be worried that the US commitment to Israel has exacerbated tensions with the conservative Arab states, and, at the same time, weakened the American alliance with Western Europe. And as his comments made clear, he mirrors the Pentagon's annoyance with the fact that shipments of US military equipment to Israel have created shortages in American units.

Even so, as many observers have pointed out, Brown's offhand attribution of these difficulties to alleged Jewish control of the US press and financial institutions was an excursion into the sort of mythology that should have died with Goebbels. Of the 1748 daily newspapers in the US in 1972, only 3.1 percent were owned by Jews, and the Newhouse chain, which accounts for half their circulation, avoids the appointment of Jewish editors and publishers. As for the Jewish presence in the banking system, surveys reveal no Jews in top management positions in the nation's 25 largest banks outside New York City and only 30 among the 844 major executives in the eight biggest banks in Manhattan. If anything US banks may be coming under increasing Arab influence as they seek to serve as conduits for Middle East oil money. Early this year, for instance, the Chase Manhattan Bank concluded a deal to manage $200 million in Saudi Arabian funds, and several other American banking firms are opening branches throughout the Middle East.

In contrast to his fantasies about the US media and banks, Brown's charge that the so-called "Jewish lobby" wields extraordinary clout in Congress is largely true. But it is a truth that must be qualified. Among the principal Jewish lobbyists in Washington are Hyman Bookbinder of the American Jewish Committee, and Isaiah Kenen and Kenneth Wollack of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, a registered agency of the Israeli government. They are extremely effective, as evidenced by their record on such issues as Sen. Henry Jackson's amendment to force the Soviet Union to permit Jewish emigration and the $2.2 billion in military grants and credits to Israel, passed last December in the face of congressional cuts in foreign aid. But they are no more competent and considerably less affluent than the oil company lobbies that espouse the Arab cause and can rely on the sympathy of Arabists in the State Department. The Jewish lobbyists owe their success to deeper strains within the country.

The six million Jews in the US not only vote more heavily than any other ethnic segment of our population, but their political activity is highly motivated and relentless. They are easily mobilized, and though the new law limiting campaign financing will spell the end of huge donations to candidates, their cohesion is expected to enhance their importance as collectors of many small contributions. This explains, in part at least, congressional receptivity to efforts by the Jewish lobbies to promote support for Israel, and, according to a survey by one of these lobbies, that support will be stronger when the 94th Congress convenes in January. The survey, derived from questionnaires sent out to the candidates in last month's elections, estimates that some 250 members of the House and about 70 senators can be counted on to underwrite Israel. The defeat in the Arkansas primary last spring of Sen. William Fulbright, who took a cool view of Israel, was welcomed by Jewish activists.

But there is more in all this than pure politics. For one thing Congress is responsive to national opinion, and the polls make it plain that Americans overwhelmingly tilt toward the Israelis against the Arabs, even if sacrifices are required to back up that preference. A Harris survey published last February, for example, showed that 61 percent of Americans favored continued aid to Israel despite the threat of prolonged gasoline shortages resulting from the Arab oil embargo. A recent Gallup poll indicates that only one percent of Americans blame Israel for the energy crisis, and a Yankelovich study collated last month found that 74 percent of the country considered the survival of a Jewish state to be "important" to the US. The same study disclosed that most Americans would hold either the Arab states or the Soviet Union responsible

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for future trouble in the Middle East. Consonant with the prevailing lack of enthusiasm for foreign aid, however, the idea of US military and economic assistance to Israel is widely opposed. It is worth recalling that only 36 percent of Americans believed in late 1944 that a Jewish state should be created in what was then Palestine.

Several reasons prompt Americans to lean toward the Israelis: the recollection of the Nazi holocaust; esteem for the courage of Israelis and their insistence upon defending themselves without US troops; and the reaction against Soviet inroads in the Middle East. The Israelis have also benefited from a revulsion in the US against the image of Arabs greedily amassing colossal fortunes through oil blackmail. An Arab consortium has retained the public relations firm of Hill and Knowlton in an effort to polish up that image, but the effort will be uphill work all the way. The favorable US attitude toward Israel stems largely from the rise in the status of American Jews, and, conversely, US respect for Israel has elevated the position of American Jews. This phenomenon, among others, bears on the decline of anti-Semitism in America.

Seen over a span of years, the evolution of American Jews has been remarkable. In 1944, for example, they were far out in front of all other groups regarded as a "menace" to America; by 1962 that view had disappeared. Just after World War II three out of four Americans said that they were unmoved by Hitler's genocide; by 1961 a similar percentage not only approved of the Eichmann trial but considered it to be a justifiable device to remind the world of the Nazi horrors. These and other changes came about as American Jews, in step with the rest of US society, underwent a vast transformation. As Rabbi Herzberg sees it, the US has offered Jews a unique climate in which to flourish because, lacking a medieval past, anti-Semitism was unable to build on tradition. America's economic growth made its contribution, since it removed a prime cause of friction. In addition, Herzberg suggests, Jews have always been safer in multinational frameworks like ancient Rome, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the US, which have had to accommodate to diversity. The premium on diversity has further developed as Americans, fearful of losing their identities in the homogenized US culture, have gone back to asserting their ethnic singularities. In short American Jews have acted no differently than Americans of Irish, Italian, Polish and other origins in rejecting the melting pot.

Within this US cultural spectrum, American Jews themselves represent a variety of different and often divergent attitudes on a range of subjects. And beyond their cohesion on the single issue of Israel's right to exist, they are fragmented in their opinions of the path that the Israeli government ought to take to guarantee its existence. They include those who criticize Israeli intractability in refusing to pursue more flexible policies toward the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular, and, at the other extreme, there are American Jews who refuse to utter a word of reproach against Israel on the grounds that it would somehow be construed as betrayal. My own view is that it would be healthier if Jews in the US, both for their own sake and in their relationships with other Americans, dropped the pretense that open discussion of Israel's internal decisions is somehow sacrosanct and spoke their minds forthrightly. Israel is, after all, a foreign country to American Jews, and free debate in the US about its activities should at least equal the noisy debates that Israelis themselves conduct.

Still American Jews do not perceive Israel in quite the same way that other Americans regard the lands of their forebears. In the first place it is not the "old country" but a new state that probably would have collapsed long ago had it not been financed by American Jews. Moreover it is a state populated by survivors to whom American Jews, who escaped by virtue of geography, feel indebted. And it differs from other states to the degree that it is daily confronted by the threat of extinction. For such reasons as these, American Jews feel a special kinship toward Israel, and it is that feeling that may complicate their role as Americans. Despite all the data proving that anti-Semitism is moribund, they cannot help imagining situations in which, as Gen. Brown implied, their loyalty to the US would be brought into question. It is hard to conceive of that eventuality objectively, since most Americans agree with the stated policy of the US government to defend Israel's survival. But anti-Semitism and the fear of it are not rational and Jewish nerves are exposed.

Another Middle East crisis is not the only situation that could spark a recrudescence of anti-Semitism. A deepening recession that produced armies of unemployed would trigger the search for scapegoats. A downward spiral that sapped Jews of their economic strength would, by depriving them of influence in their communities, make them targets for reprisals. Pointing to these possibilities, pessimists recall the prestige of the Berlin and Vienna Jews and the tragedy that engulfed them, and they scoff at the notion that "it can't happen here." While he does not doubt that the polls accurately reflect "the expressed attitudes of the moment," Thomas O'Dea, a Columbia University sociologist, has questioned whether "the psychological depth and historical longevity" of anti-Semitism can be dealt with in responses to surveys.

Many Jewish leaders remain persuaded that the danger is remote. One of them, warning against exaggerating the likelihood of anti-Semitism in the US, tells the tale that Freud used to relate about the Jew who fled to the woods when he learned that all camels were going to be castrated. "You're not a camel," his friend said, to which the Jew replied: "I know that and you know that, but do *they*?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# There's Only So Much a Doctor Can Do

## Poverty and Health

## by Peter Isacson

When it first became apparent that the United States lagged behind other developed countries in major health indices, a defensive reaction set in. An initial attempt was made to discredit the data by pointing out different countries have different reporting systems, but competent demographers quickly demonstrated that this effect was insignificant. A closer look at death rates by income class then showed that the high rates were strongly associated with the poor. This led to what seemed to be a rational chain of thought: because health care is expensive, it doesn't reach the poor who therefore get sicker and die at a higher rate. It is now standard thinking that medical technology and skills in this country are superb, but we lack a system of health capable of delivering care to everybody. Therefore we need different methods of financing, more innovative manpower utilization, national health insurance or a variety of other means to alter the situation, and our overall health status will dramatically improve.

These assumptions ought to be questioned. The statistical association between lack of medical care and poor health is clear enough, but as with all statistical associations, cause and effect can't be proven. To rephrase the question, is there a straightforward relationship of poverty leading to poor medical care which causes illness, or does poverty exert its own independent effect on state of health irrespective of the type of medical care that may be available? In the latter case the reason for a statistical association would be clear, since both medical care and infant death are related to poverty; yet the automatic assumption that lack of medical care causes illness would not be valid.

In the continuing debate over our system of medical care, the statistic most widely quoted is that the US has an infant death rate higher than 14 other countries. But there are many causes of infant death. In earlier times infections were the most prominent and it was probably true that the availability of medical care increased the likelihood of survival. Now infections are no longer a prominent cause. Rather there are a whole variety of causes, some of which can be influenced directly by a physician, but the majority of which are not under the control of health care as we customarily use the term. In looking at factors associated with infant mortality, low socioeconomic status and prematurity stand out. Infants born after shorter pregnancy or born at low birth weights have a much greater risk of dying in the first year of life. This then raises the question of what influences prematurity. It is surprisingly difficult to get a sure answer to what sounds like a simple question. The reason is that whenever any given disease is clearly associated with low socioeconomic status, there are automatically a host of factors that could be causally responsible, and it is difficult to sort them out.

It is true that the poor do not have as great an access to medical care, but consider the other phenomena to which they are subject: malnutrition, air pollution, poor education, more frequent pregnancies, higher rates of venereal and other diseases, inadequate housing, inadequate sanitation, inadequate rodent control and even inadequate clothing. Do none of these factors have any relationship to infant mortality? They probably do, but it is a very difficult thing to study. Epidemiologists (those who study the distribution of disease in large population groups) have particular difficulty with this kind of situation because a single variable cannot be isolated. It is hard, for example, to find a population existing on a barely livable income, but whose children are adequately fed. Poverty has a set of associated characteristics, and they travel together. Much the same type of problem has come up in trying to evaluate the effects of air pollution on health. A person living near a steel plant who sees paint being peeled off houses and holes being eaten in nylon stockings has a reasonably clear idea that air pollution is hazardous to health. But there may be a number of other factors responsible for the death rates other than air pollution.

To get a definitive answer to the question of how much prenatal or other forms of health care influence nationwide levels of infant mortality, it would be necessary to do a manipulative experiment. A group of childbearing-age women would be selected, randomly divided into two groups of which one would receive prenatal care after becoming pregnant and the other would not. The life span of the children would then be followed. For good reasons there is no likelihood at all of such an experiment ever being done in this country. Epidemiologists have had to look for existing groups of people comparable in as many

---

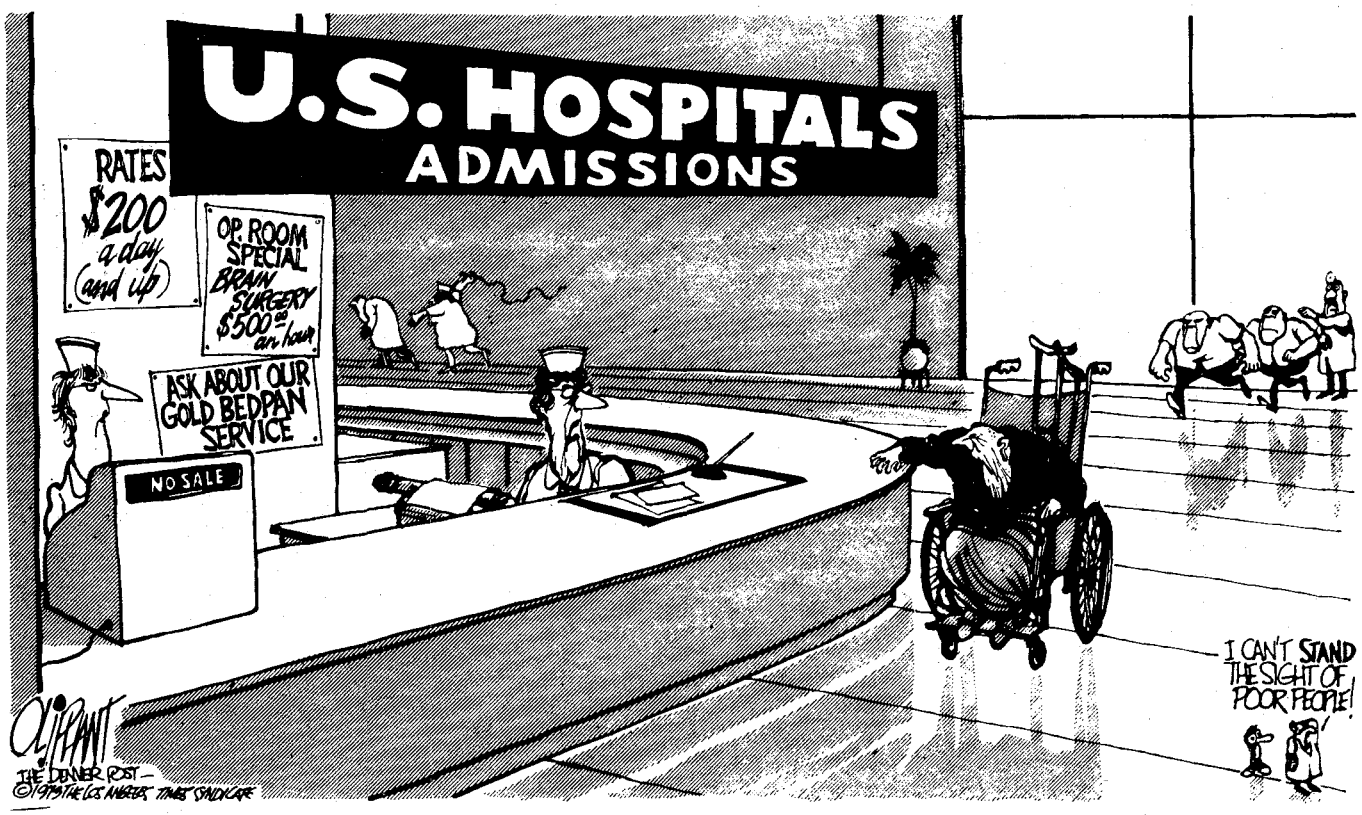
PETER ISACSON, MD, *heads the department of preventive medicine and environmental health at the University of Iowa College of Medicine.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

respects as possible except for amount of prenatal care. Such groups are hard to find, and results have been mixed. Some studies, such as those of the Health Insurance Plan (HIP) of New York City recipients, indicated that prenatal care lowered infant mortality. Other studies have shown no effect, but all studies have been open to the criticism that the comparison groups, because they were not randomly selected, were significantly different in other respects than amount of prenatal care. Furthermore the differences, even if real, were not profound. It is not surprising that good prenatal care should prevent some problems relating to delivery and early infant life. On the other hand it is not surprising that correctable conditions do not occur often enough to cause a major alteration in infant mortality rates. A woman raised in poverty since birth has accumulated a variety of preconditions leading to the complex of prematurity and infant mortality. It is hard to imagine their being adequately corrected in the relatively short time span covered by prenatal visits. It has been noted that in Scotland the depression of the early '30s was every bit as severe as seen in this country. Women who were raised in these circumstances but who later in life graduated to a better economic status at the time of pregnancy, were still found to deliver premature infants at a high rate. Modern obstetrics cannot undo the experiences of a lifetime.

Another example in the long, disheartening list of associations between poverty and disease is lead poisoning in children. This happens in children living in homes that are so old and dilapidated that the lead paint used on the inside begins to peel off. Culturally deprived children often develop the syndrome of pica, the eating of nonfood items. They will then pick at walls or bannisters and ingest enough lead to develop abnormally high blood levels. Lead in these amounts easily damages the brain, producing symptoms ranging from simple irritability and lack of attention span to convulsions, coma and death. Surveys have shown rates of elevated blood leads as high as 25 percent in children living in old urban ghettoes. The public health response to this has been to develop screening programs to test for the early stages of lead poisoning. Children picked up are then taken to a hospital, deleaded and some sort of effort is made to change the home environment so that they don't return to the same sources of lead exposure. This is needed but it doesn't get at the question of how much damage has already been done by the time the child is brought in with a high level of blood lead. Epidemiologists are now seriously considering the idea that much of the supposed learning difficulty seen in our inner cities may be the result of chronic low-level lead intoxication. The point is that the most sensitive health measures we know of may already be too late. The only true prevention of this problem is to alter the conditions under which the poor are forced to live. Again, it is a problem of society, not of the health care team.

The list of diseases associated with poverty is a long one. The usual medical response is that of secondary prevention, that is, to wait until early signs of illness




*"Old, ill and broke! So, what do you want, troublemaker?"*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appear or are detected by some screening process, then to take some biological action to minimize future progression. This is in sharp contrast to primary prevention, in which the disease is kept from starting. There are disappointingly few examples of primary prevention that can be applied in the usual medical setting. Immunization is, of course, the classic one, but after this the chances diminish sharply. Furthermore the attempts at secondary prevention do not always pan out. It is an article of faith that when a disease is diagnosed early, it can be more easily cured. This doesn't happen as often as supposed. In fact most forms of heart disease and cancer cannot be cured, regardless of how early they are detected. The physician's role is to prolong life and make it more bearable. This is an enormously important function, the point being that it should not be confused with preventing disease.

In this sense the Health Maintenance Organization (HMO) concept being pushed by the administration is being oversold in terms of prevention. Because HMOs are a form of prepaid practice, they logically can be expected to reduce costs, since the tendency to unnecessary hospitalization will be blunted. To assume, however, that illness will be prevented is to place more faith in medical aspects of prevention than can be justified. Maureen Henderson, president of the Association of Teachers of Preventive Medicine, says, "Data from one highly developed country after another (some with HMO-like arrangements) confirm my opinion that systems of health care delivery originally designed to cope with episodic acute infections do not provide mechanisms to change contemporary mortality and morbidity from chronic diseases." There is no question that a certain amount of greed exists in the medical profession, but to think that doctors would prevent disease if only it would work to their financial advantage is unwarranted fantasy. Measures that work, such as immunization and fluoridation, are, in fact, widely used. HMOs can attack one aspect of the economics of health care, that of financing treatment, but there is nothing in their design that will alter the balance of rich and poor in this country.

henever a discussion of poverty and health comes up, sooner or later the remote tribe in Africa or somewhere else will be mentioned. They have no money at all and they live to startling old ages, and where is the supposed relation between health and income? This misses the main point that richness and poorness are terms useful only in the relative sense. When there is no one else around, the remote tribe can just as well be considered rich as poor. In this country being poor means much more than just not having all the things the rich have. The poor are the ones forced to live in the middle of the pollution and wastes created by our affluent culture. Wide disparity in life-styles in itself creates a less healthy environment for those at the lower end.

The idea that health status is largely independent of medical care is not a new one, but it has been surprisingly difficult to get across. In *The Mirage of Health* René Dubos finally resorts to the analogy of the classic Western script: the lone rider who cleans up the town by shooting the villains, then rides off into the sunset as the appreciative townspeople wave goodbye. The only problem is that our hero has not fundamentally altered anything, and the unchanging social conditions will allow a new group of villains to appear.

Modern leaders in the field of health emphasize that same idea from different vantage points. Warren Winkelstein of Berkeley and Reuel Stallones of Texas stress the effect of general environment on health and clearly distinguish health care and disease care. Epidemiologist Milton Terris of New York looks closely at the data on relation of prenatal care to prematurity and is dubious about any clear-cut relation between the two.

There is some evidence that these voices are being heard. It is reported that an internal HEW working paper for a forward health plan notes that changes in socioeconomic and cultural environment could have a greater impact on health status than all the preventive and acute health care services combined. It comes down to the attitude that health is too important to be left to doctors.

The trouble is that our politicians don't seem to get the message, or at least don't want to talk about it. Ask any candidate running for office why this country ranks so badly in life expectancy and infant mortality and what you will get is a recitation of their ideas on national health insurance, distribution of health manpower, creation of neighborhood clinics and so on. The system of paying for sick care in this country is in bad shape and needs major overhaul, but this must be kept conceptually separate from the problem of keeping a society healthy. An opportunity is being missed. Poor health is one of the consequences of wide income disparity and there is a direct and logical method of correction.

This is not unique to health. The Coleman Report shocked the academic world with data strongly suggesting that a child's academic achievement depended primarily on the home environment, not the school. Every group of distinguished citizens ever asked to be on a crime commission has come solidly to the conclusion that no amount of police, judges, courts or laws will alter crime rates if the environment of poverty persists. Health should be added to this list. Education, crime and health make an imposing array. We can continue the patchwork approach, hoping that our "system" will not need much alteration. We can exist with the lazy wish that more police will stop crime, more school buildings and teachers will make our children smarter, and more hospitals and doctors will make our society healthy. Or we can approach these problems in terms of primary prevention and focus on some means to reduce the class distinctions in this country.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Stanley Kauffmann on films

## Lenny
(United Artists)

The first image is a mouth in immense close-up, with the down visible under the lower lip. I thought it was Lenny Bruce, unshaved. Then the mouth speaks, with a woman's voice. The camera pulls back: it's Honey, Lenny's ex-wife, a bit raddled, being interviewed "today" in the soft yet prying daylight that pervades this black-and-white picture.

The tonality of light comes from Bruce Surtees' fine photography. (He did *Sweet Charity*, in color.) The editing, nervous or cruelly fixed as and when it needs to be, is by Alan Heim, who edited *Godspell*. These two men, best known for their work on musicals, collaborate here with a director, Bob Fosse, whose name was made in theater and film as a choreographer and who directed the film of *Cabaret*. Thus—rightly, I think—the biography of the nightclub comic was put in the hands of men experienced in sophisticated musicals.

This link, between method and matter, is doubled by Fosse himself. He has moved here toward a directing style that would itself approximate the anarchic effect that Bruce used to have with his performances. Apparently Fosse has modeled his work on the arch-anarchist of our film era, Godard. (Which is only fair because Godard has acknowledged his admiration of Fosse. See Godard's review of *The Pajama Game* or Belmondo's line about Fosse in *Une Femme est une Femme.*) The ambiguity of the enormous opening close-up, resolved only by pulling back; the nearly subliminal cutting at times, like Honey's opening strip act, which gives us her body as through a prism; and, for contrast, the very long, unbroken long-shot later in the film, when Lenny comes out to do his act full of heroin and sick, his raincoat over his jockey shorts, wearing only one sock—all these devices are pure Godard. *Lenny* wants to be, in form and feeling, an anarchic "act" about a man who did anarchic "acts," and, in that form and feeling, it succeeds much more than in what is actually said and done.

This is certainly not to knock the performances, all of which are good and some of which are far better than that. Dustin Hoffman is, one can say, back. The night before I saw *Lenny* I saw some of *Midnight Cowboy* again on TV and marveled again at how, through the cinematic shenanigans, Hoffman and Jon Voight give the work validity. I wondered whether Hoffman would ever work that hard again, after the lazings of *Papillon* and other pictures. He works, hard and well, in *Lenny*. He has evidently studied, as well he might, the *Lenny Bruce Performance Film*, made by John Magnuson in 1965 at a San Francisco night club—a 65-minute unbroken take of Bruce's next-to-last performance. But Hoffman does more than give a good imitation of Bruce, as Bruce did of, say, Barry Fitzgerald in his Father Flotsky bit. Hoffman tries, as far as the script permits, to get to the core of the character. He lacks, I think, the last manic charge that Elliott Gould (who is physically wrong for the part) might have given it, but Hoffman engraves very sharply the lineaments of a ferret who ferreted out his own true talents—moving from stock jokester to wild blasphemer—behind the cover of the "tits and ass" of cheap strip joints; and then, on the wave of his own release and the era's hunger, moved in front of the girls to disembowel himself on the altar of outrage. The journalist who first wrote seriously of Bruce, Ralph J. Gleason, made what I still think is the most helpful comment about his method: "Bruce's whole orientation is that of the jazz musician." Bruce's riffs and runs are like a jazz player's on a theme, improvisations of hot, almost sexual abandon that are an evanescent escape, a knowingly futile blow at ugliness. Hoffman gets a lot of all this, very well, very movingly.

Valerie Perrine, as Honey, at least as the Honey of the script, is almost as good: a woman who lives and suffers by sexuality, whose values are scaled to a relatively small but intensely detailed moral landscape. Jan Miner is appealingly coarse as Bruce's mother. Stanley Beck is exact as the (fictitious) agent, who of course looks younger in the "today" sequences, with long hair and mod shades, than in the flashbacks of 15 years earlier. And Gary Morton gives an appropriately loathsome caricature of a famous loathsome comic, under a pseudonym.

The film's troubles are in the script by Julian Barry, who wrote the poor play of the same name. But the troubles here are not exactly the same. The play was toothless and was festooned with arty touches—giant puppets—by the director Tom O'Horgan. The film script has none of that artiness and it does have some teeth: the trouble is that they are taken out, like dentures, and shown to us. For instance, during one performance, Bruce spots a black man in the audience and calls him "nigger"; then he spots others whom he identifies as "kike," "spick," "wop," etc. The real Bruce would have kept on using those terms without mitigation, possibly to make us see how close we all are to using them, even if we don't admit it, and anyway just to make us angry and to make us laugh at our embarrassment over our anger. But Barry's Bruce explains. He explains that he's repeating those terms in order to take the sting out of them, so that no little kid will ever be hurt by them again.

And there are biographical gaps and distortions, as one can tell from the Albert Goldman-Lawrence Schiller book. The wildness of Bruce's sex life is only sketched. His odd relation with Honey is only sketched. (Was he, for instance, responsible for her drug arrest in Hawaii? The film never touches the matter.) His discovery of his "dirtiness" as performer, and his strength therein, is almost incidental. His decline into drugs is shown but not motivated or dramatized, as is his decline into legal-

*(continued on page 33)*

### Films Worth Seeing

*Amarcord.* If there's such a thing as an instant classic, this is it. Fellini's exquisite, funny, ironic poem about the small town of his youth.

*Antonia.* A good one-hour documentary about a fine woman—Antonia Brico, the orchestral conductor who, as woman, was ahead of her time.

*I. F. Stone's Weekly.* Now playing some places with *Antonia.* Another good one-hour documentary about a truth-addicted journalist.

*Scenes from a Marriage.* Bergman cramped his six-part Swedish TV series into a somewhat ungainly bundle for the US, but much of what's in it is fine. Especially Liv Ullmann.

SK

ARCHIVE TO OHIO.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reconsideration

# Agnes Smedley: Dirt Poor Daughter of Earth

"Before me stretches a Danish sea. Cold, gray, limitless. There is no horizon. The sea and a gray sky blend and become one. A bird, with outspread wings, takes its way over the depths. . . . [This] is the story of a life, written in desperation, in unhappiness." So Agnes Smedley begins *Daughter of Earth*, first published to critical acclaim in 1929—a good year at the opening of that depression for a book about growing up poor and female—and now reprinted in the Feminist Press series ($8.00 hardcover, $3.00 paper) that exhumes at a reasonable price good books buried in neglect (such as *Life in the Iron Mills* by Rebecca Harding Davis and *The Yellow Wallpaper* by Charlotte Perkins Gilman).

"I belong to those who do not die for the sake of beauty. I belong to those who die from other causes—exhausted by poverty, victims of wealth and power, fighters in a great cause. For we are of the earth and our struggle is the struggle of earth." Indeed, she died in England two days after most of her stomach had been removed because of bleeding ulcers, hounded into exile one final time by redbaiting and the scourging of the left, accused of being a spy, broke and unable to get work, her books removed from library shelves. She had been on her way back to China, the only place until recently where her memory was honored.

*Daughter of Earth* is an autobiographical novel, a genre that has always made me uneasy. Often there's something self-serving, twitchy or indulgent about them. Whatever kernels of one's daily living get imbedded into the process of fiction makes them no more relevant than the kind of paper the original manuscript was typed on. This novel undid me. It did not feel like a fiction. I could not separate Smedley from her persona or really believe she meant us to. *Daughter of Earth* has the fierceness of confession.

The writing is vivid and terse. A poor country childhood: community canning, harvesting, molasses pulls, dances, the shame and secrecy of sex, learning to lie as a child, floods and disasters, life in the mining camps of the Rockefeller Ludlow mines, have never been rendered with more economical grit and color. Yet the book often made me physically uncomfortable. Rereading, I found myself wanting to skip not boring passages but vividly painful ones. *Daughter* is a political document; questions about the politics involved me in wondering about Smedley and her life.

Jan and Steve MacKinnon, who are working on a biography of Smedley, have established that *Daughter* is substantially autobiography. Writing it was an act of self-healing for her whose life had collapsed. In order to begin a second life, she had to make sense of her first, objectify her unbearable pain, her years of fighting so that she could again function and take up her own and others' struggles. The therapy must have worked. She went on to a career as an engaged radical journalist, trying to explain to Americans the Chinese front of World War II and the Chinese revolution.

Political autobiography is not a genre remarkable for honesty. Usually every event before a major conversion is revised from that new vantage point, and the author's old heresies, unworthy ambitions, despairs, mean tricks are ironed away. Malcolm X resisted that temptation. So did Smedley. She came from a dirt-poor family: a father who deserted her mother again and again, pickling himself in despair and alcohol, a mother who worked herself to death. One sister died in childbirth at 18 in a shanty in Oklahoma. A brother died in a construction accident.

Never again will I be able to speak metaphorically of people taking in each other's washing. The description of her mother making a living doing laundry all over the freezing house is too strong. She writes cleanly and tightly of poverty. More, she looks hard at just how it hurts. She studies how emotions are crushed, relationships distorted, love and tenderness destroyed, blindness nurtured. She is fascinated by how little she could understand of her situation from what her family was able to see and to know, how little they could grasp of what caused the economic calamities that ground them under. The book has the strength and power of desperation and it impresses itself upon the reader as entirely honest.

Smedley slaved her way through school, was thrown out of college in California for her political activities. She had chosen to try to get an education, to push on herself. She felt she had deserted her two younger brothers, abandoned them in choosing an education. Although she sent money when she could and put her sister through school, she was eaten by her sense of guilt. The only way she could live with it was to force herself to forget she had a family for long periods of time, to lie about them to others. How well she writes of the cost of her survival!

Looking around at her mother and the women of the shanty towns and the hard-scrabble farms of her childhood, the mining camps, she decided early that marriage was slavery. "Women had nothing but virginity to trade for a bed and food for the rest of their days." The only women who seemed to have rights were prostitutes and laundry girls. The little they earned nevertheless gave them a small measure of power. She had a clear feminist analysis of marriage and prostitution by the time she was in late adolescence:

> *In one place I worked for a woman who was newly married. She had been a laundry girl . . . but once married, her husband said no wife of his could work! . . . All day long she lay on the bed and often did not dress until the afternoon . . . After the first few weeks of Gladys' married life she and her husband began their quarrels. Neighboring women listened from behind drawn blinds. When she complained to them, as women beyond the tracks did, they all seemed to agree that a woman had to "mind" her husband. . . .*
>
> *"Fer Christ's sake, what are you always fussin' about?" her husband one day broke out.*
>
> *"I want to go back to work. You're gone all day and I jist set at home. . . ."*
>
> *Months passed and the neighbors smiled . . . for now it was said she was "expectin'." And the quarrels with her husband continued. The words that passed between them are still carved into my memory. . . .*
>
> *"Give me back the clothes I bought you," he bellowed at her one day.*
>
> *"Damn it, kid, you know I love you," she begged through her tears—for*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*now she could not go back to work even if she wished.*

I expected to find her becoming involved in struggles around women's conditions. But the irony of Agnes Smedley's life is that, with all that slow, painful understanding of women's oppression and the oppression of the poor she came from, almost all her struggles were on behalf of other people's revolutions. She became involved in the effort of Indians to throw off British colonial control. It would be hard to find a cause more remote from her background, upbringing, family and her own struggle for sexual equality, than the entirely male Indian nationalists. The United States wasn't even particularly active in oppressing India then, only in acquiescing to British rule. She joined the IWW but never became active in it; Margaret Sanger recruited her to work on contraception—a cause she believed in—but after hours she rushed to pour herself into her Indian cause.

During World War I, the beginning of a period of intense repression of the left that culminated in the Palmer raids, she was jailed for refusing to betray her Indian friends. Beaten, starved, denied water, the more she endured the dearer that cause became to her. "The Indian work was the first thing I had ever suffered for out of principle, from choice." She denigrated her earlier suffering because it was not chosen: "Through them I came to know how men, intelligent and revolutionary, can suffer under subjection. I thought I had known what bitterness was, but when with them I realized that I did not know the meaning of the word." A reader finds it hard to accept that judgment.

In *Daughter of Earth* Smedley has difficulty being close to other women; to her they are prostitutes, enslaved wives or women of the leisure class. They never worked a day in their lives, she says repeatedly of women she met in radical causes. Yet the men she identified with in the Indian movement were landowners. It was easier for her to ignore class divisions in an alien culture. Her own passionate desire to be educated, to have more in her life than taking in washing, separated her from her class background. For every step she took toward understanding, toward potential control over her own life, she paid an immense price in abortions, loss of men she loved, ruined health, near starvation, isolation, imprisonment, fierce discipline that made her feel old at 20, terror, rape and ostracism.

Activists who rise from poverty sometimes end up able to work with everybody except those who remind them too much of what they were. The same is often true of people from comfortable homes who claim other middle class people are hopeless. Smedley was at a gross disadvantage in the Indian nationalist movement, subject to suspicions and whispering campaigns against her, punitive measures against an independent woman, reminding me of the ambiguous and awkward situation of women in anti-draft organizing.

Reading *Daughter of Earth* I was struck, as I was when I read Doris Lessing's Martha Quest novels, by how little the social context of radical politics seems to change and how much it wants changing. Smedley speaks of the American radicals she met in New York:

*I came and went in their meetings, hoping to learn something, and I made no more impression upon them and their world than a stone makes when thrown in a lake. They left in me a feeling of confusion, of impotence, of humility, and even of resentment. I did not know how to learn the things they knew, and they had no time or interest to tell me how. They had read much and did not know how simply a person must begin. . . . They spoke of the Russian Revolution as if it were their private property.*

Nothing I have seen in my life suggests it would now be any different for an awkward, earnest, uneducated working-class woman who did not happen to be outrageously beautiful, appearing at any mixed political gathering today: snobbery, cliqueishness, a nose for fashion still dominate political interaction.

Quite simply, the Indian nationalists were nicer to her. Lonely and isolated, with better manners and more kindness, they were willing to teach her about their culture and politics, especially an ascetic older teacher she called Sadjari. "I was raw and ignorant of many things. I was not an interesting person to associate with and yet he worked with me and taught me, filling my life with meaning." She was hungry for education, for political work, for acceptance, for comradeship.

Yet she could not look among women. She came to New York at a time when the women's movement had worn itself out getting the vote, but still there was strong work going on. In spite of her feminist analysis, in spite of her personal battle for sexual freedom and equality, she never considered working with women. She wanted to be like a man, she could only admire men. She says of the Indian nationalists: "I loved them with the love I had been unable to give to my brothers, to my father, to my class." Or to her sex. Her Indian husband mistrusted her, lacerated himself, played out an exquisite torture of jealousy with her because she had had relationships with men. The slow agony of her marriage is saddening to read.

But she did survive, to turn her bleak turbulent life into this strong, honest, memorable book. Then, plunging into a second life, she found more successful work, more compatible politics, a movement full of peasants and peasant leaders she could identify with, truer respect and longer lasting friendship with the Chinese than she had in the Indian movement. When bad health forced her out of China and she returned to the United States, she wrote *The Battle Hymn of China*, a best-seller in 1943. She had productive years writing, speaking, gardening, working on the biography of Chu Teh, the peasant who became a general. She reviewed books for *The New Republic*. Then, just as repression and persecution had driven her into exile in Germany in the '20s, so a vendetta against her and her books in the late '40s drove her into a second exile and an early death.

*Daughter of Earth* is the creation of a good, hard-working, honest and intelligent woman who gave her best and then some in the struggles that engaged her. Her work was buried in the mudslide of reaction. The official remaking of history edits out women—especially radical women—dismissing their accomplishments and their battles as so much old lint. We must welcome her back to the active reading shelf. She has much to say about her own time and by implication for ours. Out of her life she refined herself into a marvelous instrument of empathy for the sufferings and the battles of others: she truly was a daughter of the whole earth.

## Marge Piercy

MARGE PIERCY *is the author of, most recently, the novel* Small Changes *and the collection of poems* To Be of Use *(Doubleday).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# No Thesis

## The Glory and the Dream by William Manchester

(Little, Brown; $20)

William Manchester specializes in recording anecdotes and Interesting Facts. His 1300-page book on America since the Depression gives him ample space to exercise this specialty while laying out for us 40 years' worth of news and compressed biography. As you'd expect, the result is sometimes entertaining, sometimes tedious. The style is clipped and energetic—particularly well suited for the difficult task he sets himself; weaving thousands of names and dates together with references to news columns, comedians' wisecracks, bits of literature, descriptions of clothing and architecture, and quotes from famous people he's interviewed. It's remarkable that Manchester can assemble so much detail without making a terrible clutter. The story is neat and trim despite its length, and the self-assurance of the narrator makes it fun reading.

But the book has no thesis. This may seem a small matter, for historians are not required to say why they produce their histories, and few people will be disappointed by Manchester's reticence. But it does raise the question of what the book is about. As best I can express it, it's simply one man's record of everything Americans did and thought, bought and sold, loved and hated between 1932 and 1972.

The tale is told in a series of mini-epics corresponding roughly to presidential terms of office. The chief hero is Franklin Roosevelt. Though he dies long before the story is finished, his influence is strong throughout, and the standards set during his administration are used to measure his successors. We learn that Manchester is a Roosevelt admirer when FDR stands up to deliver his first inaugural address. After two chapters on the Great Depression and Hoover's blind incompetence, Manchester introduces the new President, FDR, with a trumpet blast: "The radio carried his ringing voice out across the suffering land. . . . Herbert Hoover slumped and stared at his feet, but in the three-decker tenements with radios the hungry children looked up; housewives patching threadbare clothes looked up; there was a kind of magic in the air. . . ." This is "narrative history," according to the title, and the author occasionally lets you know who the good guys are.

The storyteller's approach to history is not so obtrusive as some of Manchester's other quirks, such as his straining for irony, and worst of all, his drudge-like listing of objects, names and places. In a book this long you'd think recitation could be avoided. But Manchester enjoys it. A sample of what happens when he strains for odd perspective can be found in the opening sentence on the Kennedy age, part of a chapter with the weird title, "Now the Trumpet Summoned Us Again." It exhibits a mood often used in pop history, labeled by Mary McCarthy the "past-future." It goes like this: "In 1961 the troubled years of the decade lay in the future." You can't dispute the facts, but a more detached historian might point out that in 1974 the troubled years of that decade lie in the past. The story carries on through the space program, civil rights marches, the Cuban missile crisis and, alas, runs aground in the next chapter on a laundry list: "Among the names not in the news that year were Gloria Steinem, Kate Millett, Germaine Greer and Bobby Riggs. . . ." It's an interesting notion, the history of things that were not. Two pages later: "Among the places not in the news that year were Woodstock, Watts, East Village, Grant Park, Wounded Knee. . . ." This one goes on to list 19 places not in the news that year, a point that will be lost on someone who chances to pick up the book in 1990 and wonders what in the world are Grant Park and Bimini, that they should be in the news.

Except for these lapses, the story is exciting. The scheme of events must be familiar to most readers, but the little incidents and forgotten remarks are not. Manchester picks these up and strings them onto his narrative. The more contrary to popular recollection they are, the more they delight. For example, we know that Franklin Roosevelt was a tremendously popular President, but do we appreciate how deep the popularity ran or how little help he got from the press before his election? Here Manchester pokes fun at liberal intellectuals, the kind who look back fondly on FDR: "He was the only

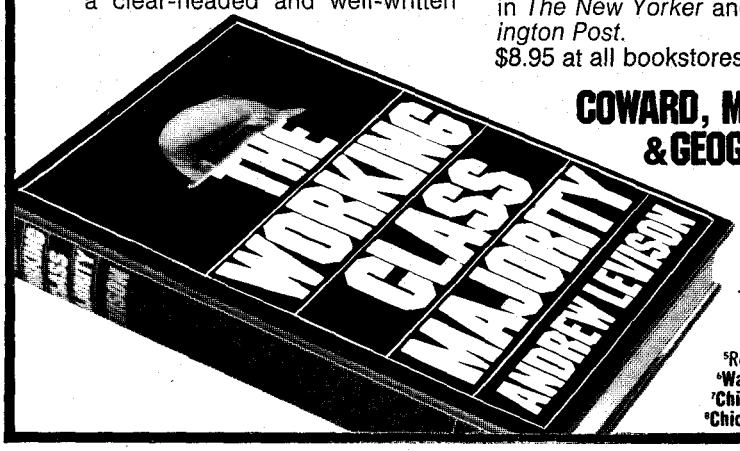

"A volume to rank with The Lonely Crowd or The Power Elite"[1]

**Andrew Levison's THE WORKING CLASS MAJORITY**

is "useful, important—and interesting—a valuable contribution to balanced thought."[2] **"One of the most provocative and stimulating books I have read in a long time,"**[3] "a clear-headed and well-written primer on the working class as it exists today."[4] An enormously useful book,"[5] "a welcome antidote to the indulgent enthusiasm of the post-industrial society advocates."[6] **"A must book for the liberal's library."**[7] "A vital, responsible and thoughtful work . . . a necessary and important book."[8]

Excerpts from this book appeared in *The New Yorker* and *The Washington Post.*

$8.95 at all bookstores




COWARD, McCANN & GEOGHEGAN

[1]Publishers Weekly
[2]John Kenneth Galbraith
[3]Michael Harrington, author of The Other America
[4]Irving Louis Horowitz, Rutgers University
[5]Rep. Richard Bolling
[6]Washington Monthly
[7]Chicago Tribune
[8]Chicago Sun-Times


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leader in either party who had suggested progressive solutions for the national dilemma, yet the liberal abuse of him was even harsher [than the conservatives']. Heywood Broun, Elmer Davis and Walter Lippmann scorned him. *The New Republic* dismissed him as 'not a man of great intellectual force or supreme moral stamina.' " Skipping ahead a couple of years, it is surprising to learn how vigorously Roosevelt pursued and hunted down Democrats who wouldn't toe the line on legislative proposals—particularly the attempted "packing" of the Supreme Court. FDR went on nationwide radio before the 1934 election to say, "Never before have we had so many Copperheads." He campaigned in Kentucky, Georgia, South Carolina and Maryland *against* incumbents in his own party. But on election day the purge turned into a big bust; the voters repudiated their President. Later on there are blow-by-blow accounts of Truman's fight with the coal miners, the secret funding and building of the atom bomb (hidden from Congress, of course), Ike's sicknesses, Joe McCarthy's inquisitions, Kennedy's Cuban troubles, Johnson's war and Nixon's Watergate.

Swallowing 40 years of American pomp and trivia in one gulp, as this book forces you to do, has a healthful but not a calming effect. It induces historical queasiness. The overwhelming feeling is uncertainty: can leaders really have been so giddily unaware of where they were going? There's little comfort in Manchester's portrayal of the past, for as often as not the key to America's successes and near escapes since 1932 seems to have been good luck.

**Eliot Marshall**

# Solitary Vices

## Guilty Pleasures by Donald Barthelme

(Farrar, Straus & Giroux; $6.95)

He is "the most imitated writer in America today," according to the literary quarterlies, and *Newsweek* adds that he's "the most important." That Donald Barthelme should become so popular, in the face of a "literature of exhaustion" and the retreat of most serious fiction to the universities where its difficulty finds a home, should make us reexamine our ideas of what successful fiction has to be. Publishers and critics assume, in this day, that it must be conventionally realistic, with idiosyncrasies going no farther than what the same readers watch on TV. Barthelme isn't conventional, and his fiction isn't realistic. But his imaginative volcanoes have found a wide readership.

Nearly all Barthelme's work has appeared in *The New Yorker*. This volume collects his parodies and satires from those pages going back to 1963. Since its inception, *The New Yorker* has featured small fillers, the *faux pas* of other journals to which it adds an amusing comment. One of Barthelme's first published pieces is a simple expansion of this technique. In "Snap Snap" he pages through a month's worth of news magazines, noting how many times reporters use the verb "snap" to characterize a person's comment. In July the "snaps" are epidemic. Next month it's "cried," after that, "warned." And the action is uniform, everyone from prime ministers to baseball pitchers snapping, crying or warning according to the ambience of the time. Barthelme's narrator makes the sorry comparison with himself: "The difficulty is with my style. That much is clear. My style is pure, unadulterated mouse. Mouse all the way. Gray movements along the baseboards of corridors of power. When what is wanted is mouse*trap* style. Snap-snap."

Another early Barthelme contribution is "Down the Line With the Annual." Here his characters experience their whole lives according to *Consumer Reports* standards. "The world is sagging, snagging, scaling, spalling, pilling, pinging, pitting, warping, checking, fading, chipping, cracking, yellowing, leaking, staling, shrinking, and in dynamic unbalance," we learn, "and there is mildew to think about, and ruptures, and fractures of internal organs from lap belts, and substandard brake fluids, and plastic pipes alluring to rats, and transistor radios whose estimated battery life, like the life of man, is nasty, brutish, and short."

This sensitivity to language carries over into Barthelme's stories. In "Report" (from a previous collection) war engineers invent "rots, blights, and rusts capable of attacking the enemy's alphabet," and complement these weapons with "the deadly testicle-destroying telegram." They are also at work on "realtime online computer-controlled wish evaporation," in order to meet "the rising expectations of the world's peoples, which are as you know rising entirely too fast." The argument comes from George Orwell, that phrases like these anesthetize us to their sometimes dangerous content. So Barthelme keeps the structure but deftly inserts a screaming absurdity to make us wake up to the whole show. In his novel *Snow White* (1968) the heroine chooses breakfast from the brightly colored boxes of Chix, Rat and Fear; politics consists of the President's War on Poetry; and her borrowing from the Rapunzel fairy tale is described as "Snow White's hair initiative." And so on.

Turning such perceptiveness into fiction is a short step. Given the state of our culture, how else is there to write? "The new opium of the people," Barthelme says in Joe David Bellamy's *The New Fiction* (University of Illinois Press), "is opium, or at least morphine. In a situation in which morphine contends with morpheme, the latter loses every time." With a field as varied as *New Yorker* fillers, Barthelme can be nearly as prolific and twice as fun. There is some-

"PERSONALITIES"
DAVID LEVINE
Satirical Drawings
LAURA ZIEGLER
Sculpture
December 7th through December 24th
FORUM GALLERY 1018 Madison Avenue at 79th Street

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thing of the bizarre in nearly everything these days; in *Guilty Pleasures* Barthelme transforms it into fiction. In "The Teachings of Don B./A Yankee Way of Knowledge," his narrator reports that "while doing some anthropological field work in Manhattan some years ago I met, on West 11th Street, a male Yankee of indeterminate age whose name, I was told, was Don B." Don B. leads him to a small room in the Village with hundreds of books stacked randomly about. "In the center of the room a small fire was blazing brightly. Throwing a few more books on the fire, Don B. invited me to be seated," and the conversations begin. Hallucinogens are ingested, colors and sounds and a riot of emotions follow, climaxed by the appearance of "a gigantic figure, half-human, half-animal, and a hundred feet tall (roughly)." It turns out to be "a colossal Publisher," moving toward him, seeking something. "When I revived, it took me to lunch at Lutece and we settled on an advance in the low 50's."

Included in this volume are some of Barthelme's collage pieces, such as "A Nation of Wheels," where he superimposes a magazine-ad tire on paintings and engravings to revive this dead metaphor. Other times his target is broader, but always the point is to throw imaginative cold water on some narcotic of our lives. Watching the old Ed Sullivan show, Barthelme checks off the acts —George Carlin, Pigmeat Markham, Helen Hayes staring wistfully into the lighting grid—until a song by Big Ed Ames becomes "submemorable." Then, just as the medium itself might, Barthelme quickly substitutes

> *Something memorable: early on Sunday morning a pornographic exhibition appeared mysteriously for eight minutes on television station KPLM, Palm Springs, California. A naked man and woman did vile and imaginative things to each other for that length of time, then disappeared into the history of electricity. Unfortunately, the exhibition wasn't on a network. What we really want in this world, we can't have.*

Against the boredom and silliness of life, Barthelme offers us these solitary vices. Guilty pleasures are the best.

**Jerome Klinkowitz**

JEROME KLINKOWITZ *teaches English at the University of Iowa.*

# Success Story

## The Education of Henry Adams edited by Ernest Samuels

(Houghton Mifflin; $10)

This edition of Henry Adams' autobiography must be called the most satisfactory one that has thus far appeared or seems likely to appear. The editor, Ernest Samuels, is the author of the definitive three-volume life of Adams; Samuels' wife, Jayne N. Samuels, is assistant editor.

This edition comes as close as is apparently possible to printing the text as Adams finally wished to have it. Though he never fully revised the first privately printed edition of 100 copies (1907), he made a substantial number of revisions in the margins of three copies of that edition, all of which have been collated with the trade edition of 1918 (published shortly after his death). The copy text adopted for the present edition is that of 1918, but all revisions have been incorporated either in the text or in an appendix.

The present edition of the *Education* is also notable for its annotations, which are the first to be made and which are comprehensive in scope. Most of them identify persons and events and correct dates and quotations. They are especially welcome, since Adams alluded to a large number of minor persons, little known events and private significations.

A third feature of the present edition is an appendix containing portions of letters of Adams, as well as the entire letter prefatory to "The Rule of Phase Applied to History," explaining the aims and purposes of his book. On all these occasions he deprecated what he had written, expressed hesitation about having it publicly printed, and even threatened to recall the copies that he had privately distributed. He reiterated what he had said in the "Editor's Preface" of the 1918 edition that the *Education* was a sequel to his *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*—the first being "A Study of Thirteenth Century Unity" and the second "A Study of Twentieth Century Multiplicity." (The present edition omits the subtitle "An Autobiography," which the 1918 editors had added without authority.) And more than once he compared his work with the autobiographies of St. Augustine and Rousseau, being like them a literary *tour de force*, in which he attempted to write "a heavy dissertation . . . and fill up the background with moving figures that will carry the load."

This textually complete and fully documented edition of Adams' work is a welcome one, for the *Education* is an American classic. It is, first of all, the account of a complex and fascinating character, set forth in a highly sophisticated style. Son of an American minister to England, grandson and great-grandson of Presidents of the United States, Adams grew up expecting to enter the world of statesmanship in some capacity. When the post-Civil War administrations, so different from those with which the Adams family had been involved, failed to have a place for him, he turned to the profession of historian, first as professor of history at Harvard and subsequently as author of the nine-volume history of the Jefferson and Madison administrations. Ultimately, in *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* and the *Education*, he produced studies of two climactic periods in the intellectual history of the Western world and formulated a theory of history as a sequence of proliferating energies. For all its shaky transference of scientific terms to social phenomena, it remains a provocative theory. Adams eventually settled in Washington, where he was an articulate observer of, if not an actor on, the national political scene.

As personal history the *Education* is an especially tantalizing account because of the 20-year hiatus in it, covering Adams' marriage and his wife's suicide as well as his career at Harvard. His deference to women—to his grandmother Adams, his sister, Mrs. John Hay, figuratively or philosophically the Virgin Mary, and in a corporate sense the American woman—is abundantly clear. To the latter he wrote, he "owed more . . . than to all the American men he ever heard of." It was peculiarly appropriate that the statue that St. Gaudens executed for the grave of Mrs. Adams—to Adams' complete satisfaction—was a brooding female figure.

Since most autobiographers take full credit for their own achievements, Adams' assumption in the *Education* of the persona of a failure is especially noteworthy. His repeated assertion that his various experiences—from those as a student at Harvard on—failed to educate him becomes a refrain calculated to render the title of the book ironic. This

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# LET THE NEW REPUBLIC BLAZE THE TRAIL—

## use our Teacher's Guide (free with our low cost classroom subscription program)

Last year we added something new to our classroom subscription program . . . a weekly teacher's guide. It is an invaluable aid in the classroom.

**"This is simply a note to say how helpful your teacher's guide materials have been this past year . . . I have been teaching 'civics' for four years and have a most difficult time getting through the utter boredom most people have put up as a barrier to the subject. Your stories have fed me for years . . . Keep up the good work."**

If you are a teacher of government, literature, international relations, history or economics, we recommend *The New Republic* for use in your classroom. Special classroom rates for bulk orders of 10 or more copies are as follows: *Each student's copy costs only 19 cents weekly if 10 or more are mailed to a single address. Free desk copies are included for each instructor.*

Orders may be placed for any number of weeks, for one week only, or for the entire school year. You will receive your copies before they appear on the newsstand—insurance that the contents are fresh and exciting.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
*An Independent Journal of Opinion*
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Please enter this CLASSROOM ORDER.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

Number of copies weekly .....

Number of free copies needed for Instructor .....

Starting date .....

Termination date .....

Signature .....

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me


theme, however, personalizes the breaks in historical continuity that he saw accompanying a series of historical phases in the 19th and 20th centuries. Perhaps his most poignant expression of failure is, in fact, an unconscious one. It is the concluding sentence of the book, expressing the hope that he and his friends John Hay and Clarence King might return in 1938, the year of their centenary, to find for "the first time since man began his education among the carnivores . . . a world that sensitive and timid natures could regard without a shudder." It is ironic, indeed, as Adams would have grimly appreciated, that that centenary should so nearly have coincided with the outbreak of World War II.

Adams' *Education* may be called a variation on the dominant theme of the first of all American autobiographies—Franklin's—and most of those that came afterward: the theme of public success. To the extent that he was a private person, Adams called himself a failure, though his achievements in writing for students of both political and cultural history belie the word. In a sense his "failure" constitutes his most devastating comment on America between the Civil War and World War I. With as acute a political sense as Franklin, Adams was also endowed, unlike Franklin, with an esthetic and a religious sense that led him into realms where "success" is not necessarily a criterion. In the last analysis Adams' account of himself may be the autobiography that represents an American's broadest and deepest reach, both into the world of practical affairs and into the realm of intuition and the creative imagination. It may indeed be the "success story" par excellence of American biographies.

But the *Education* has an even broader import. In this book the American, growing up in a simple colonial environment, finds himself confronted on the one hand with corruption at home and, on the other, with an infinite cultural complexity (including corruption) abroad. Perhaps Adams' greatest achievement was thus to place the American experience in the perspective of the history of Western man. In that perspective, as he demonstrates, it has not only a vital position; it can also provide a unique interpretation of that history.

**Nathalia Wright**

NATHALIA WRIGHT *is professor of English at the University of Tennessee.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Reason To Die

## The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima by Henry Scott-Stokes
(Farrar, Straus & Giroux; $10)

## Mishima by John Nathan
(Little, Brown; $8.95)

Both of these biographies are attempts by two Westerners who knew Mishima to explain his shocking and unexpected suicide by disembowelment. Both men—Scott-Stokes, a British journalist and John Nathan, an American scholar and translator of Japanese literature—have written detailed, perceptive, absorbing accounts of the Japanese novelist. Aware of Mishima's complex, contradictory nature, they acknowledge that they do not have the complete explanation for his suicide, and that they had difficulty in writing their books.

Scott-Stokes feels that "the explanation for Mishima's death lies in his whole life." Nathan states that "it seems unlikely that any explanation can be complex enough to accommodate the reality of Mishima's suicide . . . I do not claim that my account is whole truth. I do believe it to be true."

The two biographies complement each other, are well researched and, because they come upon their subject from different perspectives, make even what is necessarily repetitious seem fascinating. Nathan's work contains a greater amount of information based upon access to family correspondence and direct interviews with Mishima's parents and brother.

Scott-Stokes devotes the whole first section of his work to the complete details of "The Last Day" on which Mishima took his life. In the last section, called "Post-Mortem," he discusses various theories for Mishima's suicide: homosexuality (according to Scott-Stokes, there is circumstantial evidence that Mishima and the student who committed suicide with him were lovers); *Yomeigaku*, a neo-Confucian philosophy that demands that one's actions correspond to one's knowledge; emperor-worship; and Mishima's personal esthetic ideal: "My heart's longing for Death, and Night and Blood."

While Scott-Stokes feels all of these factors played an important part in Mishima's death, he does not feel that, taken all together, they form a satisfactory explanation for it.

Nathan, on the other hand, believes that Mishima had an "erotic fascination with death" and "wanted passionately to die all his life." Analyzing the novel he wrote in his teens, Nathan states, "What Mishima wants in *A Forest in Full Flower*, would want all his life, is the ecstasy of death. At the heart of the esthetic he is already developing at sixteen, in which death is equated

with supreme beauty, is this erotic need."

Both Nathan and Scott-Stokes are in complete agreement about the effect of the war on Mishima's psyche. Scott-Stokes quotes a passage from *Confessions of a Mask*:

> *The war had produced a strangely sentimental maturing in us. It arose from our thinking of life as something that would end abruptly in our twenties; we never even considered the possibility of there being anything beyond those few remaining years.*

And Nathan quotes from *Kyoko's House* (1959):

> *A gulf separates the "death" we felt so close to during the war . . . and today's uneventful, peaceful world. Suddenly we were driven from a life in which death was a reality into a world where death is no more than an idea: the sense of reality we enjoyed in a life that was close to death has now been transformed into an idea. Conversely, what was unmistakably fantasy during the War has become the reality of everyday life.*

Scott-Stokes met Mishima for the first time when the writer spoke before the Foreign Correspondents Club in Tokyo in 1966. Mishima told about working at an airplane factory during the war where movies were sometimes shown for the entertainment of the workers.

> *And I remember one scene of the film. There was a street, a street scene of Ginza, before the war, a lot of neon signs; beautiful neon signs; it was glittering and we believed we couldn't see all [sic] in my life. But, as you know, we see it actually right now, in the Ginza street, there are more and more neon signs on it. But sometimes when the memory during the war comes back to my mind, some confusion happens in my mind. That neon sign on the screen during the war and the actual neon sign on the Ginza street, I cannot distinguish which is illusion.*

At the war's end, the reality that Mishima identified with no longer existed. Says Scott-Stokes: "The death sentence on Mishima and his contemporaries had been lifted, but their whole system of values had been shattered." Nathan, narrowing his focus to Mishima, says that with the coming of peace the world in which Mishima found himself was a complete and tangible negation of the reality he had known:

> *While Tokyo burned, he had managed to feel a correspondence between his private, internal world and external reality: "It was a rare time when my personal nihilism and the nihilism of the age and of society at large perfectly corresponded." But now that the fires were out and death was no longer a reality in the air, the dream that had permitted him to believe that he was symbolic of the age had vanished and with it his confidence in his genius.*

In his remaining 25 years, Mishima sought to recapture the reality he once knew and the faith that had inspired it. It is essential to remember that "faith" is a key word in explaining Mishima's suicide. Nathan is correct in stating that "martyrdom is impossible without faith" and that "the 'patriotism' Mishima began to formulate in the summer of 1960 [10 years before his death] was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Southern
Voices

Southern Voices carries no new recipes for making fried chicken faster, cheaper or more easily . . . no hints on growing more magnificent magnolias . . . no tips about camping on the Appalachian trails.

Instead it presents Voices by knowledgeable people speaking out dispassionately about issues, ideas, solutions. They will offer you fresh insights from new perspectives.

They use fact and fiction, the photograph, verse, the charcoal pencil to convey their thoughts—thoughts readers do not always agree with, but that do constitute a valid point of view. Eighty pages with plenty of illustrations, many in full color, make the bi-monthly as attractive as it is informative and vital. And a part of vitality is a sense of humor. Sometimes it's the best way to make a point. So please be prepared to smile, maybe even laugh openly when you're reading Southern Voices.

**Here is some of what Southern Voices is all about:**

**William Hedgepeth** climbing aboard a Pascagoula spaceship;

**Walker Percy** explaining why he doesn't write dirty;

**John Egerton** spinning the fantastic true tale of the Great Hope Watermelon Caper;

**T. Harry Williams** appraising Lyndon Johnson;

**Paul Hemphill** telling why he quit the newspaper;

**Barbara King** opening her diary about being Southern, a woman, and surviving in New York City;

**Reynold Price's** novel-in-progress;

**Ferrel Guillory** assessing Republicans in the South;

**Tom Wicker** looking at Sam Ervin's pro-war, anti-civil rights record.

Join the growing number of readers throughout the nation. Complete the coupon below. Mail it to P.O. Box 10802, Birmingham, Alabama 35202. We will bill you just $7 after you are enjoying Southern Voices.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

NR

in essence his attempt to acquire faith in order to die."

Mishima repeatedly rehearsed his own death by suicide. The question is why his death struck such a disturbing chord in many Japanese hearts and touched the Japanese psyche at its most profound levels. In a survey taken after Mishima's death, it was found that about one-third of the university students contacted felt "a certain spiritual sympathy" with his act. Scott-Stokes says that his death "moved many of his contemporaries more deeply than any event since 1945."

It is a logical and reasonable conclusion to say that Mishima's death epitomized to the Japanese the spiritual and moral vacuum that had come to characterize their postwar existence. Paradoxically he caused them to undergo this shock of self-assessment by reverting to the sacrificial devotion and mystical nihilism of *Bushido* (way of the warrior) that had existed in prewar Japan. Dostoevski said that man not only demands to live but also demands a reason for living; Mishima demonstrated with his life that he also demands a reason to die.

**Norman J. Gallo**

NORMAN J. GALLO *has contributed to* The Nation *and* Asian Forum.

# Native American Writing

## Winter in the Blood
## by James Welch

(Harper & Row; $6.95)

Two years ago Harper & Row published the first volume in their Native American publishing program, Hyemeyohsts Storm's *Seven Arrows*, a novel that has since become a kind of underground classic. Fifty-five thousand hardcover books in addition to substantial paperback copies were sold. Harper had published N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* in 1968, another novel by an American Indian. Now *Winter in the Blood* by James Welch has appeared, asserting the exceptionally high quality of fiction by Native Americans.

One sees no distinct pattern emerging in these novels. *House Made of Dawn* gave us a disturbing portrait of a young Indian alienated from both his people and the white world around him, choked by a way of life in the city he found as difficult to accept as the traditional life he had known on the reservation. *Seven Arrows* chronicled the historic confrontation of the Plains Indians with the white man during the course of nearly 100 years. Welch's novel is dissimilar to these earlier novels because the element of protest common to Momaday and Storm is missing.

Welch grew up in northern Montana where he attended schools on the Fort Belknap and Blackfeet reservations. Like the unnamed narrator of his novel with whom he shares a number of characteristics, he is part Blackfeet and part Gros Ventre, though one cannot assume that his novel is autobiographical. Much of the power of *Winter in the Blood* is the result of its deceptively simple story—on the surface a low-keyed account of life on and off the reservation, covering a week or 10 days in the life of the narrator, a young man in his 30s. Welch creates a hypnotic mood that slowly builds from seemingly unimportant events: the narrator's girl runs off with his gun and electric razor; he searches for her in the towns near the reservation, drinking and whoring with a number of other women; his widowed mother marries again; his grandmother, who is nearly 100 years old, dies and is buried on his mother's farm.

These incidents are mixed in with scenes of Indian life that have rarely been recorded in the literature *about* Native Americans or in the movies and TV shows that have systematically ignored the authenticity of Indian family life. Particularly impressive is Welch's use of humor. For the most part, the Indians in his story are happy—enjoying life, having fun together. A hilarious

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

drinking sequence in celebration of the narrator's mother's remarriage and a number of bawdy scenes in bars and hotel rooms enliven the otherwise gentle narrative.

The people here are mostly successful—even prosperous. Teresa, the narrator's mother, is a property owner and respected member of the community. Life on the reservation has never been easy, but it has its moments of beauty and peacefulness. That is the real surprise of Welch's story; life is not so different here from what we have found in earlier novels about growing up on the land: Hamlin Garland's *A Son of the Middle Border* or O. E. Rolvaag's *Giants in the Earth.*

It is the tone, however, that is so important in this novel. Welch's control may remind one of the early works of John Steinbeck, such as *The Red Pony,* and the short stories of Ernest Hemingway. An elegaic quietness bridges the scenes between the present and the past, juxtaposing the events in the narrator's present life with those of his youth, including his loving relationships with his father, First Raise, who froze to death, and his older brother, Mose, who was killed in a freak accident. These scenes recapturing the past are beautifully controlled by the skillful use of nuance, by balancing flashbacks against the events in the present: the death of the narrator's grandmother and his almost simultaneous discovery of the identity of his maternal grandfather. The climax of all these tensions—a kind of exorcism of the past—is physically paralleled by a death struggle to save the life of a cow trapped in the slough at the edge of a pasture. The intensity here is spellbinding. The cow is saved, but a favorite horse dies from exhaustion—the force of nature once again returning the story to the land.

*Winter in the Blood* is a beautiful book, put together with loving care, an unforgettable story of life on the reservation, close to the land. From common events and situations Welch has chiseled a work of perfect unity and finish. For some readers this will be the most significant piece of Indian writing they have yet encountered; for others, it will be simply a brilliant novel—independent of any racial context.

**Additional notes on Native American publishing:** The flood of books about Native Americans is beginning to approach the number devoted to black studies three or four years ago. One major difference, however, is that fewer of these works are being written by Native Americans than the proportion published by Afro-Americans; and as a consequence, some have an anthropological bias.

Two of the most significant, these by Native Americans, eloquently plead the case for a total revision of the white man's thinking in regard to tribal peoples throughout the entire world. The first of these, *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties* (Delacorte; $8.95), by Vine Deloria, Jr., proposes that treaty-making procedures be rethought. It is the responsibility of the United States government to "acknowledge to the nations of the world the international status of Indian nations as perhaps among the smallest and weakest nations of the world but yet as nations with an inherent right to political and cultural existence comparable to any other nation."

A similar approach to the problems of Canadian Indians is expressed in *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Free Press; $7.95) by George Manuel (currently the president of the National Indian Brotherhood) and Michael Posluns. Manuel's thesis is that tribal peoples can coexist within European-styled nation states as long as each group is allowed to control its own destiny. He calls this potential realignment the Fourth World, rooted in the positive exchange of values from one culture to another. (There are multiple examples of cultural reciprocity in Manuel's book; he cites the New Zealand government's policy toward the Maori as one to be emulated.)

John Upton Terrell and Donna M. Terrell have undoubtedly tried to take advantage of the current interest in Indian studies and the women's movement in publishing their recent book, *Indian Women of the Western Morning* (Dial; $8.95), a study of the American Indian woman at the time when the Europeans first arrived in this country. Unfortunately the Terrells' study is more a compilation of facts than an analysis of the implications of these materials. Still the book is informative—full of fascinating refutations of white stereotypes of American Indian women.

As far as creative writing by American Indians, there are still only three or four novels—all published in the last half dozen years. Several significant literary anthologies of Native American writing, however, have been published this year. The first, *American Indian Prose and Poetry* (Putnam; $6.95), edited by Gloria Levitas, Frank R. Vivelo and Jacqueline J. Vivelo (all anthropologists) is an excellent collection of oral material, translated into English by anthropologists during the past hundred years, arranged conveniently by tribal group. Included are a number of useful bibliographies. Oddly, the selection of writing by contemporary Indian writers here is somewhat limited. For that the reader will find a number of important additions in *The Portable North American Indian Reader* (Viking; $7.95), edited by Frederick W. Turner or in Kenneth Rosen's anthology, *The Man to Send Rain Clouds* (Viking; $6.95), a collection of contemporary stories by American Indians. The contributions by Indian

**MOVING?**

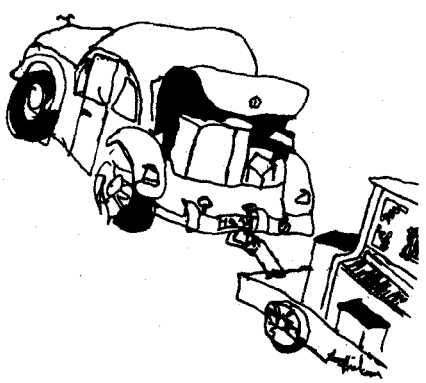
PLEASE NOTIFY US
6 WEEKS IN ADVANCE

Name (please print)

Address

City State Zip

**MAIL TO:**
**THE NEW REPUBLIC**
**381 West Center Street**
**Marion, Ohio 43302**



ATTACH LABEL HERE for address change or inquiry. If you are receiving duplicate copies of TNR, please send both labels. If moving, list new address above. Note: your subscription will end with the issue given at upper right of label. Example: 0674 means subscription will end with the last issue of June, 1974

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

writers in Turner's anthology are balanced with writings by other American authors who have usually written sympathetically about the Native American: Philip Freneau, Herman Melville, Thomas Berger and others. In the two years during which Rosen collected this material, he was able to locate only 40 stories, a fact sadly apparent in these selections. Many of the eight writers represented are beginners, though Leslie Silko, a young woman who grew up at Laguna Pueblo, is a genuine literary discovery. (Fortunately seven of the 19 selections are by Silko, including an excerpt from a longer work in progress, *Humaweepi, the Warrior Priest.)*

Dee Brown (author of *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee)* has achieved a satisfying mix of fact with photograph and painting (including many in color) in his latest book, *The Westerns* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston; $17.95). The text is immensely readable and the illustrations have been carefully chosen to exemplify little-known facts of frontier life. Brown's publishers know that his book will end up as a gift at Christmas —as it should.

**Charles R. Larson**

CHARLES R. LARSON *is a professor in the department of literature at American University, Washington, DC.*

# De Profundis

## The Sixteenth Round by Rubin Carter

(Viking; $11.95)

Seven years ago, "Hurricane" Carter, middleweight boxer, at the peak of his career was arrested on a murder charge, and along with a young fan found guilty by an all-white New Jersey court. Today he is #45472 in Rahway State Prison near Trenton serving a triple life sentence. In recent months, however, the major witness of the prosecution has decided to recant his testimony. The story made front page of *The New York Times;* a new trial is imminent. The appalling implication of the new testimony is that the witness will not be punished because a statute of limitations has passed. And according to Carter's compelling version of the trial, the witness is a two-bit thug whose original evidence was offered in exchange for immunity against charges related to other crimes he committed. The police and prosecutors allegedly put the man up to his testimony with an offer of a reward, which given the circumstances was in fact a bribe. The frame-up worked.

A large part of Hurricane Carter's life has been spent in prisons, where he educated himself and fought like an animal to survive. His experiences are at times so moving you have to put the book down; they are also proof that meting out harsh punishments for petty crimes dehumanizes people and ensures worse offenses when the inmate is released. Carter's reflections on prison come from the everyday despair of that life.

Some of the book is devoted to Carter's struggles as a boxer. The economic enslavement of a fighter to his manager and ring promoters, Carter intimates, parallels a prisoner's submission to the warden and system of law-and-punishment. Rubin Carter's story is a series of tragic parallels, in prison or as society's prisoner in the days before he rose to sufficient athletic prominence and a subsequent fair financial shake as a pro. He writes convincingly about the physical hardships but backs away from discussion of the deeper problems, such as how his wife and child endured his periods on the road. Carter is also an unabashed supremacist in his attitudes toward women. This is ostensibly the result of his prison experience, the way homosexual inmates play off prisoners against one another. Unfortunately Carter doesn't reflect on this attitude or how it grew.

Whoever edited *The Sixteenth Round* did its author a grave disservice. Carter has a sense of rhythm to his prose but the first half of the book includes a plethora of fight scenes which I suspect his publisher wanted so as to appeal to readers' viscera. Carter isn't introspective about his early problems, and in sections where he leads up to a crisis of the spirit, the sections too often just end. Early on, his father turns him in for shoplifting. The boy is enraged about this, and after he is arrested a few pages later the father doesn't appear during the ordeal of prison. Suddenly, in the middle of a subsequent chapter when the kid is trying to make it as a novice boxer, his father appears on a freezing night to give him food and even oil for the unheated apartment. Now a good editor would have asked him to at least reflect on what the father and family meant to him before the abrupt visit. Jail is a terrifying experience for an adolescent, and that fear Carter conveys; but he also suggests that he wasn't visited. (Perhaps he

THE NEW REPUBLIC

☐ A Year of The New Republic, $17
☐ Two Years of The New Republic, $29
ADDITIONAL POSTAGE—Outside USA—$3

My Check for $_____ is enclosed.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

If Gift, card to read from _____

381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302 D1110

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wasn't, but it would be instructive to know.) A good editor would have asked him to reflect on problems at important turns, not to atone for what he had done but to explain to the reader and maybe even to himself certain roots of his struggle, why he did things. A succinct explanation that works comes after he grabs a woman's purse and then is caught. "I don't know why I did it . . . I guess it was supposed to have been funny."

Clichés could have been cut out to make Carter's strong prose stronger. A more fundamental problem is Carter's habit of ending moving passages in which he shows how the system beat him down, cheated and whipped him, with profanities. Eldridge Cleaver, Burroughs, Mailer and countless lesser writers have shown the necessity and effectiveness of profanities in writing. But when a writer like Carter successfully *shows* how a court, judge and cops ripped him off, he doesn't have to say Goddamn! or Motherfuck! at the end of a paragraph. It lessens the dramatic quality of his work.

Even with flaws, *The Sixteenth Round* is a gripping book written by a man whose defiance is admirable. The last chapter reconstructs Carter's murder trial and should be read by any person with the slightest interest in our court system and its corruptions.

**Jason Berry**

JASON BERRY *is the author of* Amazing Grace: With Charles Evers in Mississippi *(Saturday Review Press). He is finishing a novel entitled* Tales of Petrie.

# Fine Print

*Women, Calendars*

## Doris Grumbach

Like a glacier advancing slowly through mountainous landscapes, cutting wide swaths to make valleys, the tide of women's books moves inexorably over us. But what will please the constant reader of such material is that much of the early dross, the filler-for-the-public's-appetite, has gone. What I see now is more often worth reading, worth buying, best of all worth keeping on one's shelves:

An old friend in Boston wrote to alert me to the appearance—and almost instant disappearance—of Hilda Scott's autobiographical account of her experience living in Eastern Europe—Czechoslovakia for 25 years. **Does Socialism Liberate Women?** (Beacon Press; $7.95) is a simply and carefully put together document which concludes that "socialism has not yet succeeded in making women free and equal." Although the majority of women in socialist countries "have emerged from the narrow confines of home," and have "proved to themselves and to men that they are capable of doing any job a man is capable of doing," they have still not "achieved positions in proportion to their numerical strength." As in capitalist countries, most persons accept the *idea* of legal equality (although the laws cannot, even there, always be enforced), of social benefits, the right to economic independence, but still "all this does not add up to full equality of women." In socialist countries the problem appears to go deeper than laws and ideology, for there too the assumption is made that women's work is, somehow, less important than men's. Men do not readily accept responsibility for a portion of the homework and child care. Hilda Scott sees time, possibly, as a cure for this. Also needed is research on the results of nursery care, and on family life and arrangements. "Whatever form of the family—or absence of it—exists . . . will also change in part in response to the effort to use it to emancipate women."

This summary does little justice to the value of this historical, economic and social study. Together with its scholarship, it is all very readable, written in a dispassionate, objective tone that gives weight to her thesis, as well as to her argument for total equality which can no longer be ignored.

The Two Continents Publishing Group is responsible for a good collection of the art of five centuries by women. **Our Hidden Heritage** by Eleanor Tufts ($12.95) begins in the mid-16th century with the life of Sofonisha Anguissola, a child prodigy whose work attracted the interest of Michelangelo, and Lavinia Fontana, a highly successful religious and portrait painter. There are 22 artists studied in the book, which reproduces a generous sampling of their work (astonishingly, at this price, 125 reproductions are in color). Eleanor Tufts gives some convincing responses to the cliché-query: "Why are there no great women artists?" with this display, which then raises another less-often asked question: "Why is so little known about great women artists of the past?" If, you, as I, have to admit to an ignorance of the names and careers of Edmonia Lewis, Suzanne Valedon, Gwen John, Angelica Kauffmann, it is time to cure it with this volume. Some well-known women are omitted—Mary Cassatt, Berthe Morisot, Romaine Brooks—because they *are* already known. Tufts hopes the book will dispel "some of the amusing and fallacious myths that have sprung up [about] the characteristic 'female touch' and 'female theme.'"

Katharine DuPre Lumpkin, author of **The Emancipation of Angelica Grimké** (University of North Carolina Press; $11.95) shows Grimké to be a forbidding-looking, aristocratic Southern woman who crusaded against slavery. Her history, even when told in a rather flat, indistinguished prose style, is a compelling one. The 14th child of a wealthy, slave-holding Charleston family, she was born in 1809, turned against the institution of slavery, moved to Philadelphia and, with her sister Sarah, a Quaker, became an active anti-slavery campaigner and speaker. At the same time (the late 1830s), she took on a second unpopular cause, women's rights. Then suddenly in May 1838, having married a leading abolitionist, Theodore Weld, she withdrew inexplicably from public life. She found her children "an inexpressibly great trial to take care of," so Sarah took over their care and their


## You're Never Too Old To Hear Better

Chicago, Ill.—A free offer of special interest to those who hear but do not always understand has been announced by Beltone. An illustrated booklet answering the most common questions about today's hope for better hearing will be given absolutely free to anyone requesting it.

The book discusses types of hearing problems, early warning signs and the possibility of surgical or medical help.

The book is free, so we suggest you write for yours now. Thousands have already been mailed, so write today to Dept. 4232, Beltone Electronics Corp., 4201 W. Victoria St., Chicago, Ill. 60646.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

love, making the Welds' homelife a difficult one. Angelica fell into despair, but then during the Civil War she re-entered public life in support of the Union effort and her newly discovered half-black nephew who had been enslaved. She died at 70, celebrated in her death notices by such men as William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. She remains one of the women's movement's heroines because of her strength in resistance and her courageous political action.

A series of landmark books for the student of **Women in America,** from colonial times to the 20th century, is the Arno Press list of about 50 books it intends to reprint from original, out-of-print editions. I've seen only one of them, **What Can A Woman Do,** by Martha Louise Rayne ($30), first published at the end of the 19th century. The answer to Mrs. Rayne's rhetorical question is "more than that of domestic service": literature (although the samples she gives of the work of women in literature would give one pause), journalism, law, medicine, music, government work, secretarial work, engraving, telegraphy. The book has many delightful, sexually biased, judgmental hyperboles: "The author of the first modern novel was a woman—Miss Burney" and "Agnes Strickland has given us the *Queens of England,* the most charmingly written history in existence . . ." and "Miss Anna Cora Ritchie's autobiography surpasses all others." According to Mrs. Rayne, the cotton gin was invented by one Catharine Littlefield Greene, in whose Georgia house Eli Whitney happened to be boarding. He helped a little with "the construction" but he grew discouraged with the machine's wooden teeth which wouldn't work, and wished to abandon it. Her "faith in ultimate success never wavered," she suggested the substitution of wire. Lo! the cotton gin. If this volume is a fair sample, many of the other reprints ought to be valuable if sometimes curious additions to social history. Other titles to come: Dorothy Dix: *How to Win and Hold a Husband* (1939); *History of Women in Trade Unions* (1911); *Women Camp Followers in the American Revolution* (1952); Charlotte Perkins Gilman: *In This Our World* (1899).

If media interests you as a phenomenon of modern life you might look into the stories told by 65 women who work for TV, magazines, newspapers, the wire services. **Room With No View** is edited by Ethel Strainchamps from material compiled by the Media Women's Association (Harper & Row; $5.95 paper). These anonymous tales catalogue instances of sexism in a narrow but influential corner of American society. The book-publishing section contains a "guide" to various houses which reads like a college course-guide prepared by the victims for prospective students—and none of the prospects for women in top jobs is very good. On the whole, women in publishing companies have been kept busy at low levels, if this book is to be believed. No one seems to anticipate much change in that condition.

I list, but do not specially recommend, Françoise Giroud's **I Give My Word** (Houghton Mifflin; $8.95). The fault lies not so much in what this successful editor (and founder) of *L'Express,* a French newsmagazine, has to say about her personal life (actually very little), about politics (a good deal), about figures like Mauriac, Camus, de Gaulle, Mendès-France, Gide and her partner in journalism, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, etc., as in the choppy, undeveloped method of narration. The book is put together from tapes, which may account for the unsatisfying amount of shallow suggestion and then quick moving-away from ideas. Only occasionally does she enter into any discussion of her unique position in journalism (imagine a woman as editor-in-chief at *Time* or *Newsweek*) or as France's first State Secretary on the Condition of Women. She claims that "generally speaking, what bothers and bores me about the American feminist movement is its 'missionary' aspect." Her reasons for this opinion are on the whole absurd—they come down to being unable to "endure" such women whom the world "probably needs . . . and I respect for their courage." The place of women in the US, she believes, "is detestable" and further the US is a country in which "men do not love women" (only in Russia and France is it true that men love women, according to Giroud). Fortunately one comes upon this nonsense late in the book, at about the time one has lost patience with the lack of depth, the thoughtless, off-the-cuff method of informing us of opinions and convictions. Not really worth the serious reader's time.

Our Christmas gift-book list contained no calendars and I am informed that many people like to give (and receive) these, as well as desk-sized appointment-calendar books.

1975 is the Year of the Rabbit, according to **I Ching: Taoist Book of Days Calendar-Diary** (Random House/Shambhala Publications Book; $4.95). I don't understand exactly how this is to be used—something to do with Throwing Your Kua "for those who are sensitive to ritualistic approaches to life." Well, I may be said to have that, moderately, so without throwing the kua, I can appreciate the orderly space given for notations for each week, each day. I like the little boxes for "Plan to Accomplish" since I am always unrealistically big on that, and "Unexpected" which fits my life pattern too. Some of the copious advice given eludes my understanding. For the week of March 31-April 5 (Chin): "Progress is made by the constructive confrontation with *obstruction.*" Simple as that.

**The Mighty Marvel Calendar** (Simon & Schuster; $3.95) has a rather special appeal, filled as every day's square is with colorful monsters and anti-grownup slogans ("Amazing Adult Fantasy No. 15: With great power there must also come great responsibility.") To be frank I do not recognize a single horrible character or super-villain on this calendar, but your teenager will.

Milton Glaser has provided the illustrations for a beautiful **Herman Hesse Calendar** (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; $4.95), Hesse's writings arranged chronologically, from youth (January) to old age (December). A fine addition to any wall that isn't already jumping with the Mighty Marvel one.

For my money the buy of the year is a spiral-bound desk appointment book, the **Authentic Calendar of Contemporary Saints** (Being Incorporated; distributed on the West Coast by Book People, 2940 7th Street, Berkeley, Calif. 94710, on the East Coast by RPM Distributors, 701 Gude Drive, Rockville, Md. 20850). Arranged to give you space for hourly appointments, there is more good reading than can usually be found in such a "book," long, well-selected passages on or from such latter-day saints as "Sister" Margaret Mead, Cesar Chavez, Ralph Nader (whose biography alone occupies the space from February 26 to March 4), "Sister" Shirley Chisholm, Snoopy, Brother Paul Goodman, Dr. Spock, Rosa Luxemburg, and a host of others.

Notable birthdays are celebrated with mention, sometimes with bibliographies. The women's bibliography comes during the week of September 15,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when Alice Paul, Jane Addams, C. C. Catt, Harriet S. Blatch, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone and Elizabeth C. Stanton were *all* born. "Brother" Christopher is welcomed back into hagiography because, I suspect, the church disowned him. On the same page are the birthdays of Salvador Allende, "society builder, US victim," and C. G. Jung, "conscious being, gentle man." Charming, pleasurable, odd, and worth more than the $4.95 price it's marked.

# Correspondence

## Draper Responds to Chomsky

*Sirs:*

I wish there were an intellectual tribunal which could decide whether Noam Chomsky or I has been a fraud and a cheat. For, in view of the vituperation in the last paragraph of Chomsky's communication (*TNR*, Nov. 23), this is the issue. In order to know who is right or wrong, it would be necessary to check what Chomsky wrote in his book, what I wrote in my review, and what Chomsky wrote in his communication. Most readers cannot be expected to go to all that trouble. If such a tribunal existed, I would submit the following:

1) *Was the Soviet Union so innocent after 1967?* Chomsky wrote in his book: "At no time has the Soviet Union supported the political demands of the guerrillas or given any concrete indication of a desire for further military conflict in the region." Chomsky then protests that the context shows that he meant at no time "after the 1967 war." I took "at no time" to mean what it says. In any case, I happened to have chosen an example of Soviet military encouragement immediately before the 1967 war, but I could just as easily have given one after 1967. In 1970, for example, the Soviet Union was co-signatory of a cease-fire agreement prohibiting military build-ups or offensive action within a zone at least 32 miles wide on each side of the Suez Canal. With Soviet cooperation and approval, Egypt soon violated the agreement by installing missiles in the forbidden zone, a clear case of Soviet-Egyptian collusion for "further military conflict in the region." By taking refuge in a quibble, Chomsky evades the issue, which is whether he was right about the unprovocative role of the Soviet Union before *or after* the 1967 war. His original statement is ludicrous whatever the context.

2) *What kind of Palestinian state?* In his book Chomsky wrote that "a Palestinian state of some sort" is conceivable and that "an independent Palestinian entity of some sort is illusory." To get around this apparent contradiction, Chomsky now says that "a Palestinian state might be established, but it will not be independent; rather, as I explain, it will be subordinated to Jordan and Israel." This is another quibble. What kind of Palestinian state would it be if it were *not* independent and if it were subordinated to (in his book, "under the domination of") Jordan and Israel? A non-independent state is a misuse of language. But the issue is whether a new Palestinian state would be subordinated to or dominated by both Israel and Jordan. Since its putative leaders make no secret of the fact that they want a state as an instrument for the liquidation or at least the absorption of Israel and Jordan, Chomsky's version of the Palestinian state would seem to be unrealistic to the point of self-delusion.

3) *From* Dissent *to Diem.* According to Chomsky's book, an editorial in *Dissent* back in 1964, the year before the massive US intervention, showed that its editors were "oblivious to the likely consequences of a United States-Saigon victory, though the story of Diem's murderous assault on the opposition (with American backing) in the post-1954 period was already well known." *Dissent*'s editorial had actually advocated US support for drastic land reform in South Vietnam, the "coexistence of South and North Vietnam," and even US "developmental aid for *both* countries" (italics in original). The alleged obliviousness of *Dissent*'s editors is a purely Chomskian invention; the editorial explicitly evoked Diem's regime as a reason for rejecting policies aimed at a United States-Saigon military victory. To justify the hallucinatory leap from *Dissent*'s peaceful proposals to Diem's "murderous assault," Chomsky protests that he did not accuse *Dissent* of calling for a "war of attrition"; he merely accused it of calling for policies that could only lead to such an outcome. This is a shabby dodge for trying to make *Dissent*'s conciliatory views into their opposite. If drastic land reform, the "coexistence of South and North Vietnam," and US developmental aid for both countries deserve to be linked with a "war of attrition," "continued intervention" and "Diem's murderous assault," words have lost their meaning.

4) *What happened to Col. Qaddafi?* I commented on Chomsky's far-fetched equation of the egregious Col. Qaddafi of Libya and some American Jews who allegedly believe that Arab refugees should stay in Arab countries. The reader of Chomsky's reply would never know that this was the issue. Instead Chomsky covers up by pretending that I was responding to his critique of "right-wing Zionist positions." In fact I was responding to Chomsky's desperate effort to disinfect Qaddafi by making these unnamed Jews Qaddafi's "precise counterparts." Chomsky does not make the slightest effort to defend this equation and hastens to change the subject.

5) *The case of Daniel Berrigan.* In his speech, Berrigan had made an inflammatory attack on Israel as "a criminal Jewish community" and "an Orwellian nightmare." Chomsky managed to keep these calumnies from the readers of his book, and he still chooses to ignore them in his reply. Instead he refers to only one point I made about Berrigan's speech—that Berrigan had misattributed a declaration "of de facto respect for the existence of Israel, a de facto state" to the Egyptians, and that Chomsky had misattributed it to Berrigan. In his reply Chomsky claims that he "nowhere said that Berrigan was giving his version of Egyptian statements." No, but *Berrigan* said that he was giving his version of Egyptian statements. In his book Chomsky wrote: "He [Berrigan] stated terms that he found 'reasonable' for a cease fire: 'a declaration of de facto respect [by the Arab states] for the existence of Israel, a de facto state . . .'" Where did Berrigan find these terms? He himself said that he had found them in an Egyptian cease-fire offer. Berrigan used these spurious terms to show how magnanimous the Egyptians were, and then Chomsky used these very words to show how magnanimous Berrigan was.

6) *How to misuse history.* Chomsky's essentially unhistorical use of history came out most flagrantly in his reference to the alleged Soviet "catastrophe" in Iraq. In his reply he tried to justify the term "catastrophe" by citing Nadav Safran's book, *From War to War*, which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

described the Soviet effort *in 1960* as an "abject failure" and "costly disappointment." To transmogrify a temporary failure and disappointment into a catastrophe betrays a peculiar linguistic irresponsibility in a professional linguist. But what was Chomsky's purpose in bringing up this alleged Soviet "catastrophe"? In his book Chomsky used it to persuade the reader that "great powers might be willing to keep hands off" the Middle East. He thus projected a temporary Soviet setback in 1960, from which the Soviets soon recovered, into the future, as if it were a basic, lasting factor. Chomsky cannot hide behind Safran's book, which contains nothing to justify either the term "catastrophe" or the lesson that it was supposed to teach.

What Chomsky chose to ignore in my review was at least as important as what he chose to quarrel about. His reply misses the main issue, which is what Yasir Arafat's *al-Fatah* and PLO stand for. In his book Chomsky urged that "the formation of *al-Fatah* might prove to be a significant step toward peaceful reconciliation." He pooh-poohed the "industry devoted to seeking out horrendous statements from the Arab press." In his reply he expended his indignation in behalf of active leaders of the Jordanian Communist party. The crucial issue is the determination of Arafat's *al-Fatah* and PLO, now aided and abetted by the Jordanian Communist party which has transferred its main base of operations from Jordan to the West Bank, to carry out in practice the "horrendous statements from the Arab press." Chomsky has chosen the soft-sell approach to the PLO. I at least do them the honor of taking what they say seriously. Even before the PLO and their Arab backers felt strong enough to say and do in the United Nations and in UNESCO what they had always said they would do in their press and documents, there was no excuse for Chomsky's historical and political fantasies. The decisive issue is the existence and survival of the state of Israel, not a mythical socialist binationalism which none of the parties to the conflict can take seriously.

In the last paragraph of his reply, Chomsky accused me of "falsification, misrepresentation, irrational argument and evasion of facts." I cannot believe that he would have become so hysterical if he were more confident of his position.

*Theodore Draper*
*Princeton, NJ*

## Gun Control

*Sirs:*

I write in response to "Abortion, Guns, Busing: Three Incendiary Issues," by Paul R. Wieck, in your November 2, 1974 issue. . . . Although I probably can't be categorized as a "right-to-lifer" or a "foe of busing" I do own several firearms that I wish to keep. It appears that according to Mr. Wieck I am, therefore, a "gun nut. . . ." Your anti-firearms campaign is of long duration and admittedly often cogent. But perhaps sometime you might take the trouble to actually make a fair appraisal of the problem. You might even look into the firearms law portions of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 which you have heretofore described as egregious. In fact, I could give you a bit of information myself, having defended several persons accused under the Firearms Act.

Crime and "gun nuts" aside, perhaps you are correct that the American people cannot be trusted with private firearms. Certainly there is a good body of fact supporting that view. However, if you really believe that then you must also seriously consider modifying your hitherto egalitarian posture.

I think many honest and law-abiding people believe that far from being obsolete, the Second Amendment is one of several constitutional expressions of the proposition that a democratic people can be trusted with the sources of power. Time will tell whether that remains true today. It is ironic, however, that Mr. Wieck's article appeared above another entitled "Demagoguery in Boston." Sometimes we who own firearms grow weary of being classed with criminals.

*Paul J. Petrozzi*
*Fair Oaks, Calif.*

## Rising Activism

*Sirs:*

It was a major oversight of the authors in the series "This Fractured Democracy" (*TNR*, Nov. 9) to omit or overlook the positive effects triggered by the "declining democracy." There has been an ever increasing number of people since the late '60s who each year participate in the activities undertaken by organizations such as Common Cause, Nader's group, civil liberties groups and numerous consumer groups for the express purpose of increasing citizen participation in many facets of government.

Is it not the inherent function of these groups to develop that aspect of democracy that would manifest itself in local control, decentralize government, limit central authority and spread participation through the workplace and the press?

*Constance Kenneally*
*Johnstown, Pa.*

## Beleaguered Britain

*Sirs:*

Michael Mosettig's article on the British elections (*TNR*, Oct. 12) needed more deep digging. . . . The problems here are quite specific. Let me offer examples.

The telephone service is poor. But it is poor because no new machinery will be introduced, and because the post office will not expand, nor will it employ newer methods of technology to enlarge the telephone service. When my telephone was installed here it took some untrained Irishman three days to figure out how to put the telephone in, and there were wires already here for connection. In the United States it would have taken him half an hour.

None of the newspapers will write exactly about the crisis of the national health. If one has an older patient, say suffering from a fracture, one might find that the emergency service will put a full leg cast on the patient, send that patient home without any medical directives, simply to get rid of another older patient. If difficulties arise, one will spend half a day trying to find simply *any* hospital to take the patient. There are no beds, especially for older patients, and no one cares a bit.

British road building is a sight to behold. The highways here may be finished some time in the ensuing century, if lucky. It is the same with buildings. In New York, builders could put up half a dozen Empire State Buildings in the time it takes to put up one average sized building here.

What seems to run through the British temper in this century is something from a song by Donald Swann: "More than the Job is Worth." The British worker is asked, always, to do more than his job is worth, and he will not. In order to get through a normal work load he is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

asked to work long hours of overtime; thus the abnormal state of affairs is supposed to become the normal. No American worker would tolerate it; but on the other hand, most American industries know how to be efficient, while British industries are possessed of the cottage-industry mentality.

It is not that the English enjoy their problems; it is simply that they do not know how to solve them, and are in desperate need of help; help which will cause them to see anew. In a country that still has an outmoded legal system (barrister, solicitor, clerks who negotiate fees between each, junior barristers and junior solicitors who accompany seniors, etc.), it is little wonder that anything else is modern or efficient.

The quaintness of everything is, I fear, being paid for by an awful inflation. How long it can continue I do not know.

*J. M. B. Crawford*
*London*

## No-Confidence

*Sirs:*

Whether a no-confidence amendment is a positive contribution to the political system needs more careful analysis than that given by James Sundquist ("Parliamentary Government and Ours," *TNR*, Oct. 26). He concludes that such a procedure would "bring the President into closer consultation with the Congress that held the ultimate power over him. To keep its confidence he would have to take its leaders into his." In short the result is described as bringing the country into a system of consensus between the President and Congress.

The Reuss revolution (HR 1111) provides for a no-confidence vote that results in a special election of the President and a national election for Congress. The problem with this method is that it puts Congress on the line with the voters. They may lose their seats! Such a special election even provides a possible out for the President. For the President may appeal to popular support and obscure the issues. There is no guarantee that such an election will be conducted on the issues causing it to be held. Also, what if the President wins by a narrow margin and Congress is returned as before? We are back to full circle with no new mandate to govern or lead. . . . Also, a special election under "no-confidence" says nothing about the renomination of the President. Can the President's own party challenge his candidacy?

Is a new amendment really needed? Do we want to trade a no-confidence procedure with its inherent dangers of confusion and ineffectiveness for the present system? The Reuss plan appears to give us accountability and reduce risks of executive irresponsibility, but it carries no due-process and no specificity of grounds. The no-confidence method assures no new checks on the President and leaves in its operation new risks, to the Congress and the political system. . . . It is useful to keep in mind that too often in politics, what can go wrong, will go wrong.

*Abraham Cofnas*
*Berkeley, Calif.*

## Transit Finance

*Sirs:*

The ". . . still secret merger of the New York Port Authority and the Metropolitan Transit [sic] Authority" ("Rockefeller and the Congress," *TNR*, Nov. 2) will come as a surprise to a number of people. I think you had in mind the incorporation of Robert Moses' Triboro Bridge and Tunnel Authority into the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, a ploy that defused Moses and eventually permitted the expenditure of excess TBTA revenues to offset the transit deficit, a practice that the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey has successfully resisted.

Gov. Byrne of New Jersey has advocated more Port Authority involvement with mass transportation. Curiously, the bankers and financiers on the Port Authority board take a dim view of any attempt to tap the vast revenues generated by that agency. You were well advised to question Mr. Ronan's ability to be objective on the issue.

*Robert S. Cook, Jr.*
*New York City*

## Unsafe Contraceptive

*Sirs:*

Much appreciation to you for publishing the article by Daniel Zwerdling on "Depo-Provera: Risky Birth Control" (*TNR*, Nov. 9). I had first heard about Depo-Provera from an African nurse in Namibia, the country illegally controlled by South Africa. In Namibia the drug is used widely where it is known to cause sterility in African women. Thus it becomes another tool for genocide of the African majority population by the white government.

It is hard to believe that the Federal Drug Administration would even consider the use of this drug in the United States of America. Concerned citizens, especially women, should demand that the Federal Drug Administration hold public hearings immediately about the effects of the drug on female patients. Likewise we must urge continued research on safe contraceptives which can be used by *all* segments of the population. Birth control should not be used as a weapon of any group to maintain their power and wealth. Thank you for making available this pertinent information.

*Ellen Kirby*
*Board of Global Ministries*
*The United Methodist Church*
*New York City*

## Kauffmann, *from page 18*

istic boringness. During his last months in New York, people I knew who knew Bruce said they could hardly bear to visit him, he was so hung up on law talk. This is *shown* in the film, after his obscenity busts, but not connected psychologically with anything we have seen before. There are gaps in the script that are supposed to be filled in either by our knowledge of Bruce or of movies: either by facts or by the conventional strophes of disintegration in film heroes.

However I can't help noting that much of the clamor against the sentimental distortion of Bruce's life comes from people who raised no protest against the sentimental distortion of Christopher Isherwood's fiction in Fosse's last film, *Cabaret*. Evidently facts are more important than works of art.

Further, I hope that the film will serve one real purpose: I hope it will close the subject of Lenny Bruce. I don't want to get involved in the I-Own-Lenny war that rages among some writers—I never saw him in person—but as authentic and significant as he was, the Bruce

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aggrandizement, the glib comparisons with Voltaire and Swift, the effort to make him a figure of ongoing importance seem to me a bit foolish. To know no more about Bruce than is in this wobbly script is to know that he contributed to the '70s temper; but was he its onlie begetter? He suffered from prosecution on obscenity charges; but wouldn't he have been a failure if he had been unprosecuted? He suffered from harassment by narcotics police; but that puts him on a rather long list. Now, after the numerous plays and films and articles and books, the debt, if that's what it was, looks to have been paid.

**AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER**

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

**We can win through research. With your help**

Give to United Cerebral Palsy—

## Personals

ORIGINAL NIXON (1950) PICTURE POSTER—75¢. Excellent collectable investment. Advance photocopy—$1. B. Friedlander, 950-25th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037

HAPPY BIRTHDAY CAROLOVE CORNELIUS

ATTRACTIVE SEXY GAL 30's needs loving male. Box 26454, Lakewood, Colorado 80226

ADULT GAME—COVER RED SPOT. VEXES. All Sexes. Stimulates skill. Quantity prices. Sample $2.00. Doherty, 1432 Franklin, Tampa, Florida 33602

SEXY ATTRACTIVE GUY, forties, gentle, wants gal to love. Box 26454, Lakewood, Colorado 80226

AMERICAN CAMPAIGN GRAPHICS 1789-1972 colorful 128-page book featuring many illustrations of presidential memorabilia. With 1974 price guide —$5.95 (75¢-1st class). B. Friedlander, 950-25th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037

ROOM AIR CLEANER, not electrostatic precipitator, no ozone, filters 90% of all air particles. Change mail filter once annually. Price, $179. Great Bear Spring Company, 99 Engineers Drive, Hicksville, New York 11801 (516) 938-2500

MEERSCHAUM PIPES! Exceptional Values. Catalog. PMP Co. P.O. Box 444-NR, Gaithersburg, Maryland 20760 (301) 926-7398

WILL PROVIDE HOME AND SUPPORT for single woman with children (312) 537-4889

BEAUTIFULLY MATCHED PUKA SHELL CHOKERS $100. Puka, Route 2, Box 1-A, Burton, Washington 98013

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH, $10.00 and sample to Elisabeth King, 41 E. 29th Street, New York 10016

THE SCHOOL DROP OUT RATE for American Indian children of the Southwest remains extraordinarily high. Help keep a Navajo or Pueblo child in school and make a personal friend for only $15 per month. Write for information to Futures for Children, 4401 Montgomery, N.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87109

## Bumperstickers

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure. Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING INC. Dept. NR, 8551 Page Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

## Literature

HUMANIST/RATIONALIST literature, etc. Free catalog. Independent Publications, Box 162, Park Station, Paterson, New Jersey 07513.

DR. BERDJ KENADJIAN, ECONOMICS OF THE NEW AGE. 270 pages. $2.95. Now for the first time . . . the divine plan for our economic and political survival as revealed to artist Dr. Benn E. Lewis in a series of visions and celestial messages is made available in this unique book by economist Dr. Berdj Kenadjian. Help usher in the millennium when righteousness will be triumphant . . . learn how you can implement the divine plan to frustrate the evil attempts of those who would lead us into certain disaster. Dorrance & Company, 1617 JFK Blvd., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103.

**YOU CAN REACH 400,000 READERS for only 60¢ per word**

Special Introductory Offer
3 insertions for the price of 2

The New Republic's classified section is an effective, economical way to make the unknown known to a large responsive audience. Special introductory offer 3 insertions for the price of 2—only 60¢ per word (with this coupon only).

Please run the enclosed advertisement _____ times in THE NEW REPUBLIC. Advance payment of $_____ is enclosed.

_____

_____

_____

_____

(See frequency rates next page)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"A SEARCH FOR JACK LONDON." $1.95. Freeman, B38, Plainfield, New Hampshire 03781

*PEACE AND CHANGE, A JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH* (Quarterly), sponsored by the Conference on Peace Research in History, publishes scholarly and interpretive articles seeking means to achieve a society of peace, humanity and justice. Articles of varied styles on a wide range of topics relating to peace and war: diplomacy and migration, racism and nationalism, militarism, sexual politics, and youth in revolutionary times. Subscriptions and donations send to the Subscription Editor, *Peace and Change*, California State College, Sonoma, Rohnert Park, California, 94928. Sustaining Member—$100.00; Contributing Member—$25.00; Institution—$10.00; Individual Subscriber—$7.50; and Students—$3.00. Back copies since 1972 are available. *Library Journal:* "An excellent addition for larger, more specialized collections."

CHALLENGE TO MEDICINE. Factual paperback "Fasting Can Save Your Life." $1.45. H-Books, Box 636, Valley Center, California 92082

BOOK FORUM, the new quarterly review of books and ideas, presents a special 154-page issue. Fifteen provocative essays: sexuality, women, childhood, work, politics, poverty, history, art literature—all related to PSYCHOTHERAPY AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE. $10 annually, prepaid; libraries, $20. BOOK FORUM, Rhinecliff, New York 12574.

MAKE MONEY WITH YOUR IDEAS. Turn your ideas into cash. Booklet shows how anyone can do it. Send $1.50 to Delbert James, Dept. 1, Box 933, Plattsburgh, New York 12903.

STILL BUCK APIECE! Excellent University paperbacks. Listings 10¢. HARCO, Box 25-NR, Big Island, Virginia 24526.

FREE BOOK. Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester, New York 14619

BOOKS FOUND! Free quotes! Fair prices! Bookstock, Box 95N, Mendham, New Jersey 07945

PRIVACY JOURNAL—Monthly newsletter on privacy/computers. $15.00 a year. P.O. Box 8844, Washington, D. C. 20003

READ THE GUARDIAN—Newsweekly gives MARXIST viewpoint on national and international news. Special 8-week trial sub., $1.00 GUARDIAN, Dept. N.R., 33 West 17th Street, New York, New York 10011 (Full year $12.50, student $7.50)

*BY JESUS*, QUAKER paperback, nonsexist, nondoctrinal, "heaven"ly. 75¢ 2/$1. FRIENDS, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

GUIDE TO ALTERNATIVE ORGANIZATIONS/MEDIA. $1. Guide plus year's trial subscription to newsletter for activists. $3. Gazette, 109 8th N.E. (#101) Washington, D. C. 20002.

SCHOLARLY SALE BOOKS. Kramerbooks Distributors offers hundreds of titles in a broad range of academic fields from university presses, academic and trade publishers, all at a substantial savings. Write for catalog. 1217 4th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20001. Attn: NR.

## Literary Services

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors: publicity, advertising, promotion, beautiful books. All subject invited. Send for free manuscript report and detailed booklet. Carlton Press, Dept. RZL, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10011.

WRITERS—"UNSALABLE" MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print as few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphic-copy, Box 285R, Floral Park, New York 11011

## Schools

TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS TRAINING for Physicians, other professionals. Courses approved by AAFP. Write TAO, 523 North 6th Street, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70802

## Foreign Studies

MEET RUSSIANS FACE-TO-FACE on 3-week nonpolitical non-profit exchange visits to the USSR. Open to qualified Americans, all ages, occupations. Departures June through December. Write-Wire-Phone Citizen Exchange Corps, Dept. NR, 101 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017 (212) 889-7960

## Employment Opportunities

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 1750-N, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

WE HAVE SEVERAL OPENINGS for Community Organizers to work in a unique type of community organizing among the poor of Virginia and North Carolina. The hours are long and the pay is low but it is never boring. For more information, write P.O. Box 1834, Petersburg, Virginia 23803

TEACHERS-ADMINISTRATORS—Current school, college openings list in U. S. $5.00; Foreign; $5.00. EIS, Box 662, Newton, Massachusetts 02162.

## Property—Sale/Rent

MOVING TO WASHINGTON—See Capitol Hill—Charming, Convenient, Eclectic Neighborhood: Houses on the Hill, Inc. (202) 546-7600

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . FROM $7.50 Acre! Vacationing, Farming, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands throughout U. S. Send $2.00. Surplus Lands, Box 6588-SN, Washington, DC 20009.

## Vacations/Travel

VOYAGES TO AMERICA. Cruise through our nation's heartland and history at a relaxing six miles per hour aboard The Delta Queen, last of the overnight paddlewheel steamboats. You'll discover a forgotten America along the mighty Mississippi and beautiful Ohio Rivers. For a brochure and '75 cruise schedule write The Delta Queen, Dept. NE 12, 322 East Fourth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

TOUR ENGLISH WATERWAYS on history professor's, private boat. $175.00 weekly. Brochure. England Afloat, Box 2083, Springfield, Massachusetts 01101.

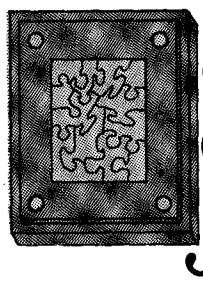
VISITING TURKEY? We can arrange single or group tours. 1001 Nights Tourism. P.O. Box 789, Izmir, Turkey.

CARIBBEAN VILLA, with cook-housekeeper, on warm, tranquil Grenada. Swimming from own land; scuba, sailing, tennis, golf available. $225 weekly, lower for season. Robert Martin, 4952 Sentinel Drive, Washington, D.C. 20016 (301) 320-3408.

## Arts and Crafts

50,000,000 YEAR OLD FOSSILIZED FISH. Oregon Petrified wood, Brazil agate slabs. Museum quality decorator pieces, $25.00 or $50.00. Money Back Guarantee. Nature's Own, 17263 Catsden, Chagrin Falls, Ohio 44022.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 50¢ Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Mass. 02339



The Copper Puzzle

Pure copper puzzle mounted between Plexiglas and cork with solid brass screws. Mounted size 5" x 7". Each puzzle is original and completely handcrafted. Send $30 for each puzzle to:

thom hickam
809 n. wayne st. #3b
arlington va. 22201

## Games

NEW! GREAT GIFT! Pure strategy game designed by mathematics professor. Stimulating eight-game kit $1.25. Free details on other amazing games. Cochran, Box 276, Kent, Ohio 44240

## Music

BURTON HARPSICHORDS AND VIRGINALS—Professional instruments in kit form. Burton Jacks (Patented). Free brochure from Burton Harpsichords, 917 "O" Street, Box 8022N, Lincoln, Nebraska 68501.

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE. Quality instruments and kits: Dulcimers ($20 up), Psalteries, Banjos, Thumb Pianos; books, records, HERE, Inc., #N, 410 Cedar Ave., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Maryland.


**CLASSIFIED RATES**

Per word (single insertion) . . . . . 60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year . . . . . 55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year . . . . 50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year . . . . 45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year . . . . 40¢
Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year
24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance

Copy Deadline: 19 days prior to Saturday issue date.

**THE NEW REPUBLIC**
**1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.**
**Washington, D. C. 20036**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# "WE'RE NUMBER 1"

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

We've spent $1½ trillion on the military since the end of World War II. We have the most destructive war machine in history - plus unmet domestic needs, deteriorating public services, and a foundering economy. How secure *are* we?

SANE believes that national security in the nuclear age depends on each nation's internal strengths and on global solutions to global problems.

So SANE works for an end to the nuclear arms race, major cuts in military spending and military aid, and conversion of the arms industry to productive uses. That's why SANE was on Richard Nixon's "Enemies List".

*Before* there's a seventh nuclear nation or 10,000 American H-bombs, we invite you to join SANE. In coming months SANE will launch public education campaigns on military spending and inflation, and on world disarmament. Your dues to SANE will bring you a monthly newsletter of facts and action suggestions. Recent issues were devoted to the military budget, limited-war nuclear strategy, and the world arms trade. For those who want to be alerted whenever special legislative or political efforts are required, just write "Sane Action" on the coupon and we'll add you to the Action list. Recent alerts dealt with export of nuclear technology, military aid, and amnesty.

The struggle is uphill, but we know what it's like to work against the odds. Wayne Morse, SANE's Co-Chairman before his untimely death, set the example of perseverance which we try to follow.

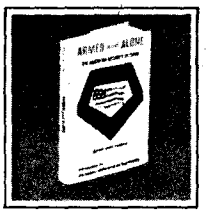
Seymour Melman, Chairman
Sanford Gottlieb, Executive Director

**Number 1 in military power**

**but we're**

**Number 18 in doctor-patient ratio**

**Number 15 in literacy**




**Number 15 in infant mortality**

**Number 26 in life expectancy**

# HOW STRONG ARE WE?

**sane!**

Membership dues are $15 annually per individual or couple. Senior citizens, non-com GIs, students, and unemployed persons or persons of low income, $5 (suggested minimum)

**Send to SANE, 318 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002** NR-1214

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

I would like to become a member of SANE and enclose $ _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED